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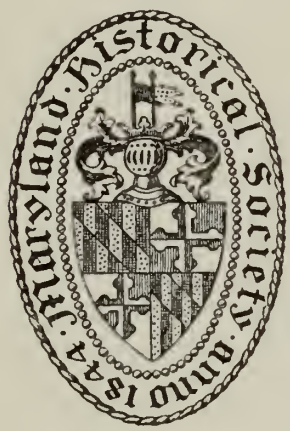

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1953

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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March · 1953

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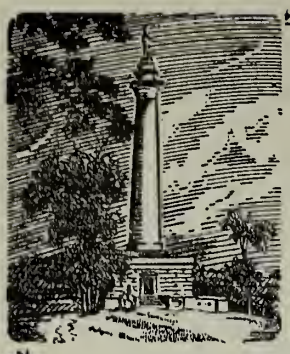

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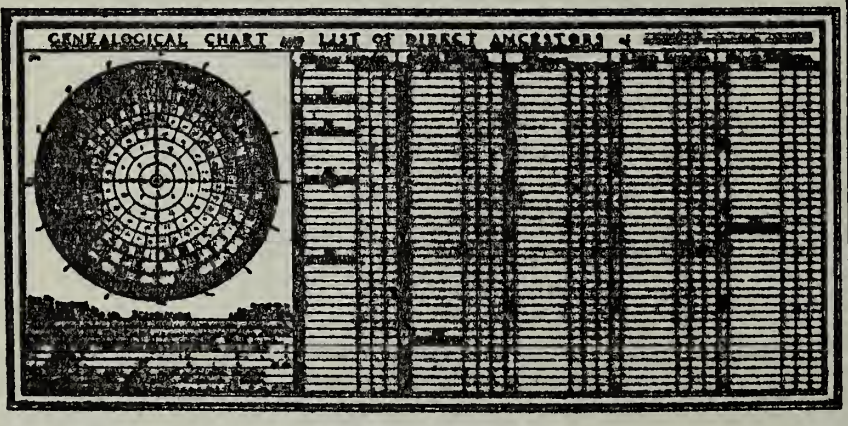

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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WILLIAM VANS MURRAY AND THE DIPLOMACY OF PEACE: 1797-1800 [1]

By Alexander DeConde

THE STORY of the "X. Y. Z." affair, of the courageous stand of President John Adams in avoiding the impending war with France, and of the ensuing demise of the Federalist party is well-known. The traditional picture of these events depicts President Adams valiantly and single-handedly defying the war-

[1] Research for this paper was facilitated by grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council, and by the generous assistance of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. An abridged version was read before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at its annual meeting in Chicago in April, 1952. Most of the information dealing with William Vans Murray is based on hitherto unexploited manuscript sources, the originals of which are located in the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Princeton University Library, and the Huntington Library. For the general background reliable accounts may be found in John S. Bassett, *The Federalist System, 1789-1801* (New York, 1906); Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1905-25), IV; Richard Hildreth, *The History of the United States of America,* rev. ed. (New York, 1880), IV-V; and Arthur B. Darling, *Our Rising Empire, 1763-1803* (New Haven, 1940).

hawks of his own party and saving the country from disaster. His action is usually portrayed as sudden and not fully explicable in view of the known particulars surrounding it. Generally accurate though it is, this conventional approach does not fully represent all of the significant circumstances contributing to peace.[2] The purpose of this paper is to indicate how and why it does not, and to reveal something about the man who, in addition to John Adams, was in a number of ways the most important figure in the making of the peace. This man, a lawyer and Federalist politician of Dorchester County, Maryland, was William Vans Murray (1760-1803).[3]

Murray is important because he was one of the hinges upon which hung the issue of war or peace; he was one of the rocks upon which was shattered the too-rigid Federalist party. By chance and by choice, he occupied a crucial position in both the internal and external affairs of the nation. In the critical years of the quasi-war with France (1798-1800) foreign policy and domestic politics were intimately connected; they were the reverse sides of the same coin. On the issue of war or peace hung many things—the destiny of the United States, the political career of a president, the fate of America's first political party. Home-front politics jumped from hot to cold and back, depending on the temperature of foreign relations. Too often, a man's attitude toward England and France determined his political affiliation.

This symbiotic relationship between foreign affairs and domestic politics came to be represented in Murray as a result of his diplomatic activities, first at The Hague and then at Paris. His

[2] For standard text-book accounts of the diplomacy and politics of the quasi-war with France see Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic,* 4th ed. (New York, 1950), I, 370-381; Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People,* 3rd ed. (New York, 1946), pp. 71-89; and Samuel F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States,* 3rd ed. (New York, 1950), pp. 111-125.

[3] There is no published biography of Murray. Brief sketches of his life can be found in *Dictionary of American Biography,* XIII, 368-369; in John Quincy Adams, "William Vans Murray," an appreciation printed in the *Portfolio,* January 7, 1804, and reprinted in W. C. Ford (ed.) "Letters of William Vans Murray to John Quincy Adams, 1797-1803," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1912 (Washington, 1914), pp. 347-351; and in Clement Sulivane, "A Sketch of William Vans Murray," *Publications of the Southern History Association,* V (March, 1901), 151-158. For a brief account of Murray's diplomatic activities see Alexander DeConde, "The Role of William Vans Murray in the Peace Negotiations Between France and the United States, 1800," *Huntington Library Quarterly,* XV (February, 1952), 185-194.

diplomatic career, fittingly enough, was the outgrowth of his political activities during the presidential administration of George Washington. He was a devoted follower of the General, a friend and admirer of the Vice-President, John Adams, and as a loyal Federalist, was a supporter of Alexander Hamilton's policies. Three times he had stood for election to Congress in his native Dorchester county, and three times he was elected to the House of Representatives, serving consecutive terms, from March, 1791, to March, 1797. As a member of the lower house he was conspicuous in debate and rose to a position of prominence in Federalist circles. In government, he was close to the men who dominated policy-making. Washington asked and followed his advice on a number of important appointments to judicial and cabinet posts. As the sessions of the fourth Congress were coming to a close, Murray disclosed his intention of retiring from public service to resume his law practice.[4] The desire was not realized; he was destined never again to return to the private practice of law for, in one of the last acts of his administration, President Washington appointed him to succeed John Quincy Adams as Minister Resident to the Batavian Republic, one of a number of satellite republics created by revolutionary France.[5] Undoubtedly the appointment was a result of party service well-rendered, but at the same time it reflected the confidence of Washington in the abilities of a bright young man of his own political persuasion. By entrusting the apprenticeship of his nephew, Bartholomew Dandridge, Jr., to the care of Murray, the aging general gave further indication of his faith in his new appointee. He asked Murray to take Dandridge with him to The Hague as his personal secretary.[6]

[4] Murray published his intention of not seeking re-election in August, 1796. He felt he could have been re-elected as the district was favorable to him. Commonplace Book, ca. October 7, 1796, Murray Papers, Princeton University Library (microfilm in Huntington Library).

[5] U. S. Senate, *Journal of the Executive Prroceedings of the Senate . . .* (Washington, 1828), I, 228; J. Q. Adams, "Murray," p. 349. Washington decided on his own to appoint Murray, though several high-ranking Federalists recommended the appointment, among them Timothy Pickering. John Adams reputedly told Washington that he would have appointed Murray to the post if the Virginian had not. Commonplace Book, February 25, 1797, Murray Papers, Princeton.

[6] Murray had at first intended taking the nephew of James McHenry, then Secretary of War, as his personal secretary, but the President's wish was practically a command and he "embraced it as a great pleasure & distinction." Commonplace Book, February 25, 1797, Murray Papers, Princeton.

The Hague, in 1797, was America's most important listening-post on the European continent. It was the closest major diplomatic establishment to France then maintained by the United States, and relations with France dominated American foreign policy. The United States had no minister at Paris and relations with the French Republic were almost at the breaking point. Madrid, Berlin, and Lisbon were too far from Paris. London was not on the mainland, and what is more important, to the French it was the enemy capital. Under these circumstances the position of the American minister in this fulcrum of politics and diplomacy was a vital one; he was the Philadelphia government's main source of information on French affairs; his duties had as much to do with France as they did with Holland. Too, the Batavian Republic was completely dominated by France and was used by it as a pawn in international politics. As a result of its dependent status, Holland was pulled helpless into the Franco-American quarrel. These were the conditions under which Murray labored and which thrust him into the midst of one of his country's most important diplomatic negotiations.

In his capacity as minister at The Hague, despite the delicacy of the international situation and of his task, Murray did a creditable job. He had a genuine liking for the Dutch people and was able to distinguish their true feelings toward the United States from those expressed by French-controlled government puppets. With tact, firmness, and a fine sense of humor he maintained a precarious harmony between his own government, which was now headed by his esteemed friend, John Adams, and that of The Hague. He also brought to a satisfactory conclusion negotiations on the case of the *Wilmington Packet* arising out of a violation of the Dutch-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1782. His predecessor and close friend, John Quincy Adams had initiated the negotiations.[7] By overcoming a number of minor diplomatic crises and moments of tension, the Maryland diplomat managed to keep alive the longstanding friendship between Holland and the United States. Whenever possible he

[7] Samuel F. Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1949), p. 54. For text of treaty see Hunter Miller (ed.), *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America,* (Washington, 1931-), I, 52-90; for Murray's role in the settlement see V, 1075-1103.

expressed his faith in and admiration for the Dutch people, regardless of their plight under French dominance.[8] This in itself was a major accomplishment during the uneasy years of diplomatic estrangement with France and of undeclared war on the high seas.

Vastly more important for the welfare of his country, however, were Murray's services as a weathervane in the cross-winds of Franco-American complications, and his unofficial secret dealings with the French. In this respect he did his most vital work in the period of diplomatic rupture between the publication of the "X. Y. Z." despatches in April, 1798, and the exchange of ratifications of the Franco-American Convention in July, 1801. The course of relations with the French Republic which led to this difficult period and to the personal involvement of Murray ran back to the outbreak of war between Great Britain and France in 1793 and to the treaty that John Jay signed with England in 1794. In the United States the Jay Treaty had cut through public opinion like a knife. Those who were for it were pro-English; those who were against it were pro-French. Murray made what was perhaps the strongest and longest speech of his congressional career in support of the Anglo-American agreement.[9] Angered by what it considered a breach of its treaty of alliance of 1778 with the United States, France had authorized retaliatory action against American commerce and shipping after the Senate had approved the Jay document. Ultimately diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off.

President Adams, attempting to steer a course of neutrality between English shoals and French reefs, twice sought to overcome the difficulties with France through diplomatic channels.[10]

[8] This is evident throughout much of Murray's correspondence and other writings at that time, especially in the Murray Papers, L. C. (microfilm in Hunt. Lib.). Secretary of State Timothy Pickering had instructed Murray that "a principal duty" of his mission was "to embrace every occasion to give the Batavian republic [*sic*] proofs of our sincere good will." Pickering to Murray, April 6, 1797, in Ford, "Murray Letters," p. 352.

[9] He maintained it was "dangerous" for the House to meddle with the treaty prerogatives of the Senate. See *Annals of Congress*, 4th Cong., 1st sess., March 7, 1796, pp. 429-30 and March 23, 1796, pp. 684-703.

[10] Before he left office Washington appointed Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, a moderate Federalist from South Carolina, minister to France. The French Directory refused to receive him and threatened him with arrest if he remained in Paris. When Adams became President, he attempted to terminate the differences with France by appointing a commission of three, Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge

His first effort was fruitless. The French Directory was convinced that in the United States friendship with France was so strong and sympathy with the French Republic was so widespread that the risk of war as a consequence of its actions was negligible. Unwisely, it accepted Republican political propaganda as an accurate gauge of American sentiment.[11]

Already enraged by sea spoliations and other French affronts, Americans were particularly galled by the shameful treatment accorded Elbridge Gerry, John Marshall, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney in Paris. The indignities to which the trio was subjected were revealed to the American public in April, 1798, when President Adams had published in Philadelphia the now famous "X. Y. Z." despatches.[12] Their publication sent a tremor through the country; the stock of France, even among Republicans, fell to unparalleled depths. Congress responded to an aroused patriotism by authorizing naval retaliations against French sea-marauders and by taking other measures for defense.[13] Americans girded for war. The Congress tossed the "permanent" alliance with France into limbo by unilaterally abrogating the French treaties of 1778.[14] Attorney General Charles Lee even ventured the solemn opinion that the United States and France had actually authorized a maritime war.[15] Fortunately, his opinion was not accepted as fact by the President, for an open large-scale war would have been disastrous; it would have vitally affected the future welfare of the United States, perhaps its very existence.

The war-wing of the Federalist party, led by Alexander Hamilton and Timothy Pickering, whipped up anti-French feeling and adopted a war program as a matter of party principle. It wanted nothing more than the opportunity to join England in the crusade against the five-headed monster of French democracy. War-Federalists saw their chance to expand the nation's frontiers

Gerry, as envoys. See *American State Papers, Foreign Relations* (hereafter, *ASP, For. Rel.*), II, 153-157.

[11] See E. Wilson Lyon, "The Directory and the United States," *American Historical Review,* XLIII (April, 1938), 516, 518.

[12] For published despatches see *ASP, For. Rel.,* II, 157-168.

[13] For various Congressional measures see *Annals of Congress,* 5th Cong., 2nd sess., pp. 1783, 1865 *et passim.*

[14] *Ibid.,* pp. 586-88, 2116-2127.

[15] U. S. Department of Justice, *Opinions of the Attorneys General of the United States . . .*, published under the inspection of Henry D. Gilpin (Washington, 1841), August 21, 1798, pp. 49-50.

at the expense of France's weak ally, Spain, by sending an army into Louisiana and Mexico.[16] At the same time the power of the central government could be strengthened, the American people could be unified under Federalist leadership, and Alexander Hamilton could reap the military glory befitting a conquering general. Though the stage was set, much depended upon whether or not the French Directory accepted the gauntlet of battle and declared war. For the extreme Federalists did not have sufficient confidence in their hold upon public opinion to let it appear that the first overt act of formal war came from the government they controlled. Yet, all seemed to go their way. To many Americans, particularly to Federalists, Francophobia and war were to be equated with patriotism; the spirit of belligerent nationalism ran high. In the congressional elections of 1798-1799 the Federalists rode the crest of the wave of patriotic fervor to their last victory. President Adams, reflecting the popular excitement of his countrymen, had announced in his trenchant message of June 21, 1798, to the Congress that he would "never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation."[17] This message had sounded the tocsin for resistance to French aggression. When Murray read it at The Hague, it made a deep impress upon his mind. Instead of becoming the rallying cry for war as the Hamiltonians anticipated it would be, in part because of Murray and in part because of dissension within Federalist ranks, it became the foundation for a lasting peace.

Despite the fulminations of the war-Federalists, the patriotic hysteria of the times, and the drift of the world's two major republics toward full-scale hostilities, there were many Americans, among them Federalists as well as Republicans, who did not want war. The French too, wanted peace, not war with the United States.[18] As the news of America's inflamed nationalism and anti-French spirit reached Europe, and as the naval war grew hotter,

[16] H. C. Lodge (ed.), *The Works of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1904), VI. 284; Nathan Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1946), p. 388.

[17] For text see J. D. Richardson (ed.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1896-1899), I, 266.

[18] See James A. James, "French Opinion as a Factor in Preventing War Between France and the United States, 1795-1800," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX (October, 1924), 44-45.

Frenchmen in high governmental circles were surprised and shocked to find that they had over-estimated the strength of pro-French sentiment in America; their dependence upon the support of the Republican party had been a blunder. Victor-Marie Dupont, one of the founders of the Delaware family of Dupont, who had been sent as French consul-general to Philadelphia by the Directory, apprised his superiors of the extent of America's Francophobia.[19] He arrived in the United States in May, 1798, amidst the anti-French agitation and was refused his exequatur by President Adams. After conferring with Vice-President Thomas Jefferson and gathering information on the explosive state of American public opinion, he sailed for France, arriving there in July. His reports on American affairs and on the strength of anti-French feeling alarmed the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord.[20] The violent reaction to the " X. Y. Z." affair and the war spirit of the Americans upset his calculations as to French policy toward the United States. Talleyrand did not want war. He saw no advantage to France in it, and immediately sought ways to stave off the conflict.[21]

Earlier, Talleyrand had skilfully exploited a division in the American commission sent to deal with him. He managed to persuade Elbridge Gerry, at that time a lukewarm Federalist soon to become a Republican, to remain in Paris and to negotiate independently after his two colleagues had left.[22] Nothing came of his dealings with Gerry, but before the American departed for home Talleyrand informed him of France's peaceful intentions and desire to resolve the outstanding differences with the United States. This had little apparent effect on the American government; in the eyes of the party faithful Gerry was a discredited Francophile. But even before the departure of Gerry, Talleyrand sought other avenues of approach to the peace-minded in America. He ferreted out William Vans Murray at The Hague as the pos-

[19] Samuel E. Morison (ed.), " DuPont, Talleyrand, and the French Spoliations," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings,* 1915-1916, XLIX, 63-79.

[20] *Ibid.,* pp. 65-66.

[21] *Ibid.,* pp. 76-77; Lyon, " Directory and the United States," 525-526. DuPont's despatches served to stimulate Talleyrand to hasten what he had already determined to do.

[22] See *ASP, For. Rel.,* II, 209-222; Murray to King, April 12, 1798, Rufus King Papers, Hunt. Lib. Murray called it a " critical moment " when Gerry entrusted himself to Talleyrand " on the ocean of Paris politics."

sible bearer of the olive branch to the American president. As an intermediary the French minister used Louis-André Pichon, whom he sent to The Hague as secretary of the French legation with special instructions to cultivate the American minister's friendship, and to sound out his views on a possible rapprochement between France and the United States.[23] So well-guarded was Pichon's mission that not even the French head of legation knew of its purpose.

Pichon, an old hand in the French foreign affairs office, was a good choice. He had spent a number of years in the United States where he had first met Murray in Philadelphia. The appointment of Pichon and the indirect peace offensive also revealed Talleyrand's knowledge of Americans and American affairs, as well as his diplomatic skill. He had spent several years of his exile in the United States, and not without some benefit.[24] He realized that, although Murray was a devout Federalist and hence anti-French in outlook, he was an independent thinker. In a letter of August 28, 1798, to Pichon, Talleyrand expressed his esteem for Murray. He asserted that the American minister " thinks the measures of his Government just, and supports them; but he possesses reason, understanding, and a true attachment to his country: he is neither French nor English: he is ingenuously an American." [25] What is more, the Marylander was on familiar terms with and had an intellectual rapport with John Quincy Adams, the President's brilliant eldest son, now the American minister in Berlin, and he also had direct access to the ear of the Chief Executive. Talleyrand was aware that overtures through Republican channels were certain to be rebuffed; to succeed they had to be stamped with the respectability of orthodox Federalism.

Although Pichon early sensed that Murray wished " sincerely

[23] Pichon is first mentioned by Murray on June 22, 1798. On June 28 he recorded that " Pichon seems sent here to impress me doucement." Commonplace Book, Murray Papers, L. C. In America Pichon had served as secretary to " Citizen " Edmond C. Genet and the succeeding French Minister, Joseph Fauchet. Since 1794 he had been a member of the American Bureau of the French Foreign Office. When Pichon first approached Murray he asserted he had no orders " but acted from his own feelings." Later he confessed that he had cultivated Murray on " *orders from his Govt.*" Commonplace Book, June 28, and August 29, 1798, Murray Papers, L. C.

[24] As a result of his sojourn Talleyrand wrote a memoir and an essay dealing with the United States: *Memoire sur les relations commerciales des Etats-Unis avec d'Angleterre . . . suivi d'un essai . . .* (A Londres, 1805). See also James, " French Opinion in Preventing War," p. 49.

[25] *ASP, For. Rel.,* II, 241.

for the reconciliation of the two republics," he did not know that Murray had decided on his own initiative to work for peace and attempt to avert war.[26] This decision was his own; it had no official sanction or urging. Hence Pichon's task, almost from the beginning, was assured of success. A period of apparent diplomatic fencing followed Pichon's initial probings. The Frenchman took care to flatter Murray and to indicate that if he were to deal with France as the American government's representative, undoubtedly an agreement between the two countries could be reached and war would thus be avoided.[27] Murray expressed himself as not being susceptible to French flattery, yet, he confessed, there was much truth in Talleyrand's and Pichon's appraisal of him, particularly, he thought, when they stressed that he was neither British nor French, but American.[28] Admittedly, Talleyrand's kind words about him in the letter to Pichon of August 28, 1798, had determined Murray to send it to Adams.[29] Notwithstanding Murray's vanity and the fury it aroused in Pickering, who hoped someday to succeed Hamilton as leader of true Federalists, the letter was an important step on the road to reconciliation.

In all of his conversations with Pichon, Murray made it clear that he had no authority to negotiate or to open his lips on Franco-American relations; that he spoke not in an official but in a private capacity only. He was acutely aware that his secret unauthorized parleys went counter to the prevailing sentiments of his Federalist colleagues at home; that if knowledge of them leaked out prematurely to the wrong people his political doom was certain. He knew that Pickering was pathologically opposed to any overtures to or from France. Consequently, though Murray desired peace and looked forward to his meetings with Pichon, he made certain they always began on the French diplomat's solicitation.[30] Committing little or nothing to writing, he kept the gist of the talks to himself. When things seemed to be going well, he informed the President directly of the progress he had made. During the course of the clandestine conferences he

[26] *Ibid.*; State Department Diplomatic Despatches, The Netherlands, vol. 4, private letter, Murray to Pickering, The Hague, October 12, 1798. (Hereafter cited as Desp., The Neth.).
[27] Commonplace Book, June 30, 1798, Murray Papers, L. C.
[28] Desp., The Neth., *supra.*
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] *Ibid.*

had also kept Pickering and John Quincy Adams informed of the general drift of affairs, and had even dropped a confidential hint of what was going on to his Federalist colleague in London, Rufus King.[31] But all was carefully guarded; it was important and dangerous business.

What motivated Murray to carry on unauthorized conversations at this critical juncture of American foreign affairs with a man who, to all practical purposes, was the agent of an enemy country? He knew of the dangerous complications caused by the private peace efforts of the self-appointed Quaker emissary, Dr. George Logan. He even joined in the denunciation of Logan's activities in France.[32] Yet, he too indulged secretly and with greater ultimate risk in private unofficial diplomacy. But he was no Logan; he was an accredited diplomat, and he had the confidence of President Adams. Murray defended his actions and explained his motives by declaring that the temper of the American populace in its reaction to the "X. Y. Z." episode had convinced him it was solidly behind the government and would "not be shaken by words." France, at the same time, from March to April, 1798, appeared to him "to have dreaded a rupture." Until May she had relied "on a powerful party" in the United States, but in proportion as the Federalists rose in popular esteem, "she sank in her tone," at least. "I thought that if anything could be done," he confessed, "that would lead them [the French] in an acknowledgement of error & injustice it would be an important point for Government, whether negotiation or war follow'd—" Continuing, he asserted: "That if something of this sort could be gained the U. S. was in a situation, so strong, as to be free to chuse—to act on it or not—"[33] When Murray read John Adams's message to the Congress of June 21, 1798, he saw in it something to encourage him in the idea that America was strongly prepared for war and was determined to have it if she could not obtain justice speedily; he realized the government would make no efforts

[31] *Ibid.;* Murray to King, The Hague, August 4, 1798, Rufus King Papers, Hunt. Lib.

[32] Murray hoped to break up the plot of the "incendiary physician." He went so far as to request the Batavian Directory to arrest and hold Logan at his convenience. Murray to King, The Hague, August 6, 10, 1798; Murray to the Batavian Directory, August 10, 1798, Murray Papers, L. C.

[33] Desp., The Neth., vol. 4, private letter, Murray to Pickering, The Hague, October 12, 1798.

to revive negotiation unless certain prescribed assurances were forthcoming.[34] From this he concluded it would " be agreeable if a declaration conformably to the language of the President were properly made— That it would be agreeable to the President to have offers, explicit & respectful come from France—" [35] Pichon made the advances and put forth the conciliatory feelers, but the under-cover initiative and blueprint of action were Murray's.

To the outside Murray presented a picture of righteous indignation. He contended that Pichon's approaches merely served to confirm the virtue of America's stand and were evidences of France's fear of the growing maritime and military strength of the United States. He proclaimed a deep distrust of France and rejoiced over the " truckling " of Pichon as a representative of the proud French diplomatic corps.[36] So well did the American play the game that Talleyrand resorted to mediatory attempts through Swedish and Dutch diplomatic officials.[37] While giving encouragement to Pichon, Murray at the same time remained firm in his stand that offers of conciliation unaccompanied by acts of peace on the part of France were intended only to dissuade the American government from preparations for war.[38] He stressed in much of his correspondence that America should be cautious and should not relax its armament and military program; the French Directory was not to be trusted. He reiterated time and again a thesis also advanced by President Adams, that the United States could strike a better bargain, if the need arose, from a position of military and diplomatic strength. In a conversation with the Swedish minister at The Hague Murray disclosed that he presumed his government would meet the hand of France halfway but America's honor now " forbade her to go more than half way," and indeed not that far " unless the hand of France held Justice as well as Peace." [39]

Taking his cue from Murray, through Pichon, Talleyrand did indeed extend the hand of France halfway and more. The assurance of peaceful intent on the part of the French government

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.*; Commonplace Book, September 7, 1798, Murray Papers, L. C. As early as July 25 Murray had urged the Batavian government to get France to give the assurance mentioned in President Adams's message of June 21. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1798.

[36] *Ibid.*, June 28, 1798.

[37] *Ibid.*, June 30 and August 20, 1798.

[38] *Ibid.*, June 30, 1798.

[39] *Ibid.*

which Murray demanded were forthcoming when Pichon revealed to him correspondence over the signature of Talleyrand dated August 28, 1798, which could be conveyed directly to President Adams.[40] The Minister of Foreign Affairs affirmed the pacific intentions of the Directory which offered "justice" to the American government as the basis for the resumption of negotiations. This pleased Murray; it was practically what he sought, but still it did not go far enough. There was enough in it, however, to allow him to move with greater certainty, to step into the open. He forwarded the document to John Adams. Shortly after Murray received this communication, and the day before Pichon was to leave The Hague for Paris, the American minister placed his cards on the table. On September 23, 1798, he wrote a letter to Pichon in which he advanced the proposal which was grasped by Talleyrand and which led directly to peace.[41]

In the letter, written in the third person, Murray started out guardedly by emphasizing that his conversations were

> unauthorized by his Government & entirely the opinion of an Individual, who wishes to see an amicable & honourable Termination immediately to the Disputes between the Two Republics— [He pointed out that the] President in his Message of the 21 June last, has declared to Congress, that all Negociation is ended, and that he will never send another Envoy to france [sic], unless he receives Assurances that he will be received & treated with that Respect which is due to the Representative of a great, powerful, free and independent Nation—

Such a reception was to be expected as a common right between equal and independent sovereigns, and these rights of sovereignty were not

> accorded to the U. S., & on the Contrary have been publickly & expressly refused to her Ministers— [France ought] to make an explicit Declaration, [suggested Murray], that she will receive an Envoy, whom the American Govt. may send to treat, & to give him a respectful reception. . . .

To drive home his point, the Maryland diplomat made clear that "without it, the President has said, he will not attempt to negociate—" France should agree to an acknowledgement of a right which is inherent in every sovereign nation—to be respectfully received,

[40] *ASP, For. Rel.,* II, 241-242.

[41] Desp., The Neth., vol. 4, private letter, Murray to Pichon, The Hague, September 23, 1798.

when coming to treat with Sincerity & good faith. [After all], a respectful reception is no favor, but a Right; & an express Declaration that this right shall be enjoy'd, becomes necessary only, when it has been expressly refused. [It ought] then to be expressly declared & with a Handsomeness equal in Degree to the Harshness with which it was deny'd—

Concluding with personal compliments to Pichon he hoped that "under the Auspices of Mr. Talleyrand's very enlightened Mind" some "important & mutually good Consequences" would flow from this confidential letter.[42]

The "good consequences" were not long in coming. Pichon quickly transmitted Murray's sentiments to Talleyrand. While declaring that what Murray was doubtful about had been already explicitly expressed, particularly to Gerry before he left France, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs wasted no time in complying with Murray's suggested pattern of approach to Adams. In a letter to Pichon dated September 28, 1798, and meant ultimately for the eyes of President Adams, he wrote that any envoy sent to France by the United States to reconcile the differences then existing between the two countries "*would be undoubtedly received with the respect due to the representative of a free, independent, and powerful nation.*"[43] This was in words Murray had urged upon the French minister and in the very phraseology of President Adam's message of June 21. Not only had the horse been led to the water, it drank deeply. To Murray's satisfaction, the desired objective had been reached; the major obstacles to peace had been hurdled. Without hesitation he despatched the results of his unofficial diplomatic triumph to President Adams and to Secretary of State Pickering.[44]

The President, who had been privy to the Murray-Pichon conversations, as was his son John Quincy in Berlin, now had the assurances he deemed necessary for a peace with honor. His stand against French arrogance had been vindicated. At the same time Murray had presented him with the opportunity to nail his colors to the mast in defiance of the political betrayers in his official

[42] *Ibid.* For additional information see Ford, "Murray Letters," pp. 461-482.
[43] *ASP, For. Rel.,* II, 242 (italics in original).
[44] See Murray to Adams, The Hague, October 7, 1799, C. F. Adams (ed.), *Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850-1856), VIII, 688-91. Murray wrote "*privately*" to Adams that he had offered himself to Pichon as the transmitter of the assurances to him, "incurring the risk of being open to the imputation of *meddling* at such a crisis."

family. Murray's relay of Talleyrand's declaration was well-timed. It coincided with decisive crises in internal politics, with sharpened personal animosities in government, and with other domestic pressures. Adams, gravely conscious of the factors, had changed almost completely in his attitude toward a French war. In the spring and summer of 1798 he had been bellicose and defiant; by autumn he had decided upon peace—if he could have it honorably.

During the planning for military expansion, the question of Alexander Hamilton's rank and precedence in the army became a vital issue between John Adams on one side, and his cabinet, Washington, and Hamilton on the other. Adams's eyes were suddenly opened to his real position. He was merely titular head of the government; the cabinet, the Congress, and his own political party were all controlled and responded to the wishes of Alexander Hamilton. And he was the man Adams had opposed for the actual command of the army, the man he most resented. John Adams realized, almost too late, that those whose confidence should have been his were the very ones who were pushing him into an unwanted and unnecessary war with France.[45]

Murray served not only as the instrument for bringing to a head the crisis in foreign relations, but also that in domestic politics. His diplomacy helped to strip bare the raw wounds of intra-party strife; it functioned to expose the true sentiments of the anti-Adams faction. To many in that group peace was anathema. Colonel Pickering fumed over the turn of events and seized the first appropriate opportunity to deliver a severe reprimand to Murray.[46] The Maryland lawyer, however, had laid his groundwork carefully. While he had not actually formulated policy nor directly recommended the course of action to be followed, Murray had presented the President with what amounted to a *fait accompli.* To a man of integrity, and John Adams was that, there was no alternative but renewed negotiations, peace and not war. His specific demands had been met; his hand had been called. Besides, Murray's ideas were in accord with his, as they were with those of his son, John Quincy.[47]

[45] These details are elaborated upon in Gilbert Chinard, *Honest John Adams* (Boston, 1933), pp. 276-281 and in Schachner, *Hamilton,* pp. 376-379.

[46] Pickering to Murray, Philadelphia, July 10, October 4 and 25, 1799 (private and confidential), Ford, "Murray Letters," pp. 473-474, 601-602, 610-612.

[47] John Quincy Adams and Murray were not only close friends but shared and supported similar ideas and viewpoints on politics and diplomacy. Oftentimes what

From The Hague and Berlin the President had reliable information supporting his own desires for peace. Also, Murray's was not the only voice raised against war; other evidence had already reached him indicating that France wanted peace not war.[48] Adams was aware also that large segments of public opinion in both France and America were opposed to extended hostilities. France's pacific words were matched by pacific acts. Certain decrees detrimental to American shipping were repealed; French privateers in the West Indies were restrained in their American depredations; and America's neutral rights were respected as they had not been previously. All these things were fundamental in the changed climate of opinion toward France. But more than anything else Murray's sending of Talleyrand's assurances, which he had engineered, prompted Adams to act when he did.[49] They had come not from dubious Republican sources, not from a well-meaning but deluded Quaker "busybody," nor from a discredited emissary like Gerry, but from an accredited diplomat, a staunch and loyal Federalist. They could not easily be ignored.

From his home in Quincy, Massachusetts, where he first received the news from Murray that Talleyrand would receive envoys on his terms, the President sent an exploratory letter to Pickering. Adams inquired whether or not he should send a new minister to France, indicating that he was considering taking such a step. He also asked Pickering to sound out the cabinet on whether or not

the President received from his son in Berlin was but an echo of what he heard from The Hague. See for instance, Adams' letter of April 13, 1799, in Ford, "Murray Letters, p. 541 n: "It has often given me no small gratification, by flattering I hope a better passion than my vanity to find my sentiments in perfect unison with yours upon current events, even before any reciprocal communication could take place between us relating to them."

[48] See *Works of John Adams,* IX, 241-244 (first published in *Boston Patriot,* 1809). Here, in retrospect and in defense of his conduct a decade earlier, Adams recalled some of "the multitude of other circumstances" which contributed to the making of his decision. In addition to the reports and observations of John Quincy Adams and Murray, the voices of Elbridge Gerry, Dr. George Logan, and Richard Codman, the Boston merchant and Federalist, were apparently important in the chorus echoing the theme of peace which reached the ears of the President. Even the venerable George Washington had revealed his desire for peace, "upon just, honorable and dignified terms." See John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931-1944), XXXVII, 120; Arthur B. Darling, *Our Rising Empire, 1763-1803* (Yale Univ. Press, 1940), pp. 333-335; and Frederick B. Tolles, "Unofficial Ambassador: George Logan's Mission to France, 1798," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd ser., VII (January, 1950), 25.

[49] *Works of John Adams,* IX, 244-246. These were "regular, official, diplomatic assurances" which he could not "get rid of . . . with honor, or even without infamy."

he should recommend that Congress declare war on France, that is, if France did not declare it first against the United States.[50] Soon after consulting with and gaining the advice of Alexander Hamilton, the cabinet expressed its bitter opposition to the sending of a minister to France and advised against a war declaration at that time.[51] Adams spurned the first part of this advice. After carefully considering the state of relations with France and discussing it with his son, Thomas Boylston Adams, who had arrived recently from Berlin with duplicate despatches from Murray and John Quincy Adams, the President set the course from which he was not to deviate.[52]

Without further consulting any of his cabinet members, already knowing of their opposition, and entirely on his own responsibility, Adams sent to the Senate on February 18, 1799, the message proposing another attempt at negotiation with France.[53] Embedded in the core of the proposal was the nomination of William Vans Murray as Minister Plenipotentiary to France empowered to resume diplomatic relations and to bring about a final negotiation.[54] With the message Adams sent a copy of Talleyrand's letter of September 28, 1798, which Murray had forwarded to him. The letter, incorporating Murray's ideas, was the basis for the nomination. This recognition of Murray's contribution was an unusual evidence of "confidence in the abilities as well as the integrity of the Minister."[55] Not only had Murray's plans proved successful,

[50] October 28, 1798, *ibid.*, VII, 609-610.

[51] George Gibbs (ed.), *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams, edited from the Papers of Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury,* (New York, 1846), II, 168-171, 187.

[52] Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy,* pp. 99-101.

[53] *ASP, For. Rel.,* II, 239. The sources disclose that Adams did not act precipitantly, without thought or forewarning, as he usually has been depicted as doing. On the contrary, he thought over carefully what he had in mind and even divulged it to his cabinet members for their consideration. The Federalist hue and cry of sudden betrayal has too often been accepted at face value by scholars. For Pickering's protest that Adams acted "without any *consultation with any member of the* government" see Pickering to Murray, Philadelphia, July 10, 1799, Ford, "Murray Letters," p. 574.

[54] John Adams's reasons for nominating Murray may be found in his *Works,* IX, 248-249. He "thought Murray a gentleman of talents, address, and literature, as well as of great worth and honor, every way well qualified for the service, and fully adequate to all that I should require of him. . . ."

[55] *Ibid.,* IX, 244; John Quincy Adams, "William Vans Murray," p. 350. The Republican statesman, Albert Gallatin wrote to his wife (March 1, 1799): "Murray, I guess, wanted to make himself a greater man than he is by going to France and

but he, the unofficial intriguer, was made responsible for carrying out the project he had conceived. Believing that no avenue to peace should remain closed, Adams at this time indicated that the assurances were explanation enough for his decision. Ostensibly, preparations for war were to continue as before and there was to be no immediate slackening in the defense effort, yet the effect of the President's message was to dampen the martial ardor of the country which had been so recently aroused and upon which the Federalists had capitalized.

The Hamiltonian Federalists were " thunderstruck," so Pickering exclaimed, by the turn of events and now looked upon Murray as a party turncoat, bespattering him with vituperation. To the war coterie of his own party it seemed as if he had gone mad; indeed, he was " feeble, unguarded, credulous, and unimpressive," and " certainly not strong enough for so immensely important a mission." [56] The faithful despaired of the wayward son; they were certain that " there is not a Sound mind from Maine to Georgia that had not been shocked " by the nomination.[57]

Brought into the open by the President's message, the latent but mortal split in the Federalist ranks now became an unbridgeable chasm. Even though there were other weighty and more fundamental reasons for it, Murray's nomination had the effect of wrecking the Federalist party.[58] From the day the news of the appointment became public the breach between the Adams faction and the Hamiltonians became in fact, if not in the minds of the Federalist leaders, irreparable. The anti-Adams Federalists, the Essex Junto, and the seekers after military glory in the coming war, insisted that the French overtures were meaningless and urged their rejection.

treating. . . ." Henry Adams, *Life of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1879), pp. 227-228.

[56] See John C. Hamilton (ed.), *Works of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1850-1851), VI, 397.

[57] Higginson to Pickering, Boston, March 3, 1799, J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), " Letters of Stephen Higginson, 1783-1804," *American Historical Association, Report,* 1896, I, 820.

[58] This, of course, like most complex situations involving human causality, is a matter of interpretation that cannot be supported by precise documentation, but the course of events and much evidence seems to bear it out. For various interpretations see Henry Adams, *Gallatin,* p. 221; Hildreth, *History of the United States,* V, 290; Wilfred E. Binkley, *American Political Parties, Their Natural History* (New York, 1943), p. 82; Leonard D. White, *The Federalists* (New York, 1948), pp. 247-52.

Temporarily stunned by the setback, Pickering and his cohorts did not give up hope. Through the newly organized caucus system in the Congress they had actual control of the Federalist majority.[59] Perhaps, through this control, they could bend the President to their will, and if necessary, defeat his purposes. Murray's nomination was referred by the Senate to a committee, headed by a leading member of the Essex Junto, Theodore Sedgwick, which took the unorthodox step of urging the President to withdraw it. This Adams would not do.[60] The committee was adamant; it would report against confirmation. To save Murray, the President was forced to compromise with his senatorial opponents. "True" Federalists rejoiced over the defeat of the "duped" President's nomination of the apostate Murray "to treat with the french tygars."[61] To them Murray was acceptable only by being grouped with two older and more reliable Federalist stalwarts, Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth and William R. Davie, governor of North Carolina.[62] Patrick Henry of Virginia, now old, wealthy, conservative, and a Federalist, had at first been nominated in the place of Davie. Claiming he supported the President's action he nevertheless declined the appointment because of advanced age and critical illness.[63]

All was not lost, for the anti-Adams faction could take heart in the restriction placed upon the departure of the new envoys. Murray was directed to inform the French government of the appointment of the commission and to declare that the other two ministers would not leave the United States without direct and unequivocal additional assurances from the Directory that they

[59] Bassett, *The Federalist System*, p. 247; for a discussion of the early caucus system see F. Ostrogorski, 'The Rise and Fall of the Nominating Caucus, Legislative and Congressional," *Am. Hist. Rev.* V (January, 1900), 259-260n.

[60] Adams was distressed by the committee's procedure and thought it "unconstitutional," *Works of John Adams,* IX, 248-250. For Sedgwick's and Pickering's views see Hamilton, *Works of Hamilton,* VI, 396-400.

[61] Jameson, "Letters of Stephen Higginson," p. 819.

[62] See *Works of John Adams,* IX, 162-3, 251; also Pickering to Hamilton, February 25, 1799, Hamilton, *Works of Hamilton,* VI, 398. Strangely enough, only Murray received the unanimous consent of the Senate. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate,* I, 318-319; Darling, *Our Rising Empire,* p. 342. Murray reacted to the new triple nomination in these words: ". . . I suppose that people whose opinions deserved attention, as soon as they saw me nominated alone, have manifested a repugnance to trust so great a mission to the judgment of one person & have insisted on Three, as has been usual—one South, one middle one north." Murray to Luzac, The Hague, April 15, 1799, Rufus King Papers, Hunt. Lib.

[63] *ASP, For. Rel.,* II, 241.

would be received honorably and that ministers of equal status would be appointed to treat with them. At the same time Pickering admonished Murray to have no more communication, formal or informal, verbal or written, with any French agents unless officially authorized.[64] Irked by the American procrastinations, Talleyrand nonetheless again gave Murray the desired assurances, which were received in America in May, 1799.[65] Though they tried, Pickering and his adherents could delay the commission no longer. Adams, however, was forced once again to act independently and against the wishes and intrigues of his cabinet members. After having Pickering draw up the instructions for the negotiators, he ordered Ellsworth and Davie to depart at once for France, which they did in November, 1799.[66] They reached Paris, after many delays, in March, 1800, where they were joined by Murray, who had purposely timed his arrival to coincide with that of his colleagues.[67]

Contrary to widely accepted opinion, the three Americans did not get along well as collaborating negotiators in France.[68] Murray believed his two associates disliked him and that " not one liked the *other*! " He was made keenly aware that he was the third man and the youngest of the group. With this as a pretext, he complained, they often cast aside his ideas without full consideration of their merit, and when they did accept them, it was seldom with " complacency." Murray felt that Ellsworth and Davie had come to France prejudiced against him because he had originated the negotiation, of which they, as elder statesmen and true Federalists, did not fully approve. After all, he was something of a party renegade. He considered Davie and Ellsworth " men of sense—but exceedingly rude & raw," as well as being conceited and " ignorant of the world & its manners." According to him, Ellsworth " thought little about anything but the logic

[64] Pickering to Murray, March 6, 1799, *ibid.*, 243.
[65] *Ibid.*, 243-4.
[66] *Works of John Adams,* IX, 255-6.
[67] Murray to King, Paris, March 25, 1800, Rufus King Papers, Hunt. Lib.; *ASP, For. Rel.,* II, 309; William G. Brown, *Life of Oliver Ellsworth* (New York, 1905), p. 282.
[68] E. Wilson Lyon, for instance, writes that " the three men cooperated splendidly, and the mission was not marred by the dissension and jealousy which had characterized the relations of Marshall and Pinckney with Gerry in the fruitless mission of 1797-98," in " The Franco-American Convention of 1800," *Journal of Modern History,* XII (September, 1940), 306. This is the standard account of the negotiations based on French primary sources, pp. 305-333.

of the points—as if Logic had much to do with events in Europe! good man!—excellent & austere Judge!—" [69]

In Paris the three American envoys were received cordially by Talleyrand, who, after being out of office for a short time, was back as Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Consulate, the new French government dominated by the First Consul, Napoleon Bonaparte. As a result of the *coup d'état* of 18 *Brumaire* (November 9, 1799), the Directory had fallen. Three French counterparts, Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon and head of the French commission, Pierre-Louis Roederer, and Charles-Pierre Claret Fleurieu, carried on a series of negotiations with the Americans.[70] The path to agreement was studded with obstacles. When an impasse was reached that could be broken only if Murray, Ellsworth, and Davie abandoned the negotiation or violated their instructions, the Americans went beyond the instructions.[71] With months of discussion behind them they concluded on September 30, 1800, the Treaty of Mortefontaine, better known as the Convention of 1800.[72]

Under the terms of the new treaty further negotiation was called for on unsettled points, particularly on the question of indemnities for French spoliations. The treaties of 1778 were suspended. Provision was made for the mutual restoration of all captured property not already condemned. Each country was to enjoy the privileges of the most favored nation in the ports of the other; and the principle that free ships make free goods was retained from the old treaties. In its essentials, this was the convention Davie brought back to the United States in December, 1800, and which in the same month President Adams laid before the Senate. The Senate refused to approve it.[73] But Adams submitted it again in February, 1801. Disappointed that the negotiators failed to obtain indemnities for French spoliations against

[69] Commonplace Book, April 24, 1801, Murray Papers, L. C.

[70] *ASP, For. Rel.*, II, 310.

[71] At one point Murray lamented: "We are reduced then to a choice of what parts of our Instructions we will violate," Journal of Negotiations, August 4, 1800, Murray Papers, L. C. See also the despatch of October 4, 1800, to Secretary of State John Marshall, *ASP, For. Rel.*, II, 342-343.

[72] The "GLORIOUS NEWS!" was proclaimed on page one of the *Maryland Gazette*, November 13, 1800. For the text of the convention with illuminating notes see Miller, *Treaties*, II, 457-487.

[73] *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, I, 365; *Annals of Congress*, 6th Cong., 2nd sess., pp. 767-8.

American commerce and shipping, and that the old treaties were not definitely dissolved, the Senate this time nonetheless consented to the Convention, but with reservations.[74] It demanded an indemnity for spoilations and limited the treaty to eight years duration. Adams disliked the Senate modifications. Still, he ratified the amended treaty after having signified his dissatisfaction, and appointed James A. Bayard of Delaware minister to France to carry out the exchange of ratifications. Bayard refused the appointment.[75] Adams then left the final negotiation of the treaty to the incoming administration of Thomas Jefferson.

Jefferson consequently became president when Franco-American tension had eased considerably; when preparations for war did not dominate American life; and when the political warhawks had had their talons clipped. Optimism concerning the state of the nation's most pressing question of foreign policy seemed warranted; relations with France were headed for improvement. President Jefferson, the old friend of France, was certainly opposed to a French war. The prudent Pichon, now French *chargé d'affaires* in Washington, the new national capital, did not look upon the provisional nature of the Senate approval as an obstacle to peace. He advised the French government to accept the treaty with the Senate provisos.[76] All that was now needed to put the finishing touches on the convention and the peace was the exchange of ratifications.

Surprisingly, Jefferson turned to Murray, rabid anti-Republican though he was, to carry out the exchange of ratifications on the basis of the Senate's qualified approval of the treaty. The Marylander, who had returned to his old post at The Hague, was directed once more to proceed to Paris.[77] Jefferson relied on Murray even though as Vice-President he had been critical of Murray's diplomatic transactions and had labeled them as "bungling."[78] He may well have chosen Murray because he knew that the Federalist lawyer was instrumental in saving the peace; that he was already acceptable to the French; and that he was qualified by experience and knowledge for the task. Also, circumstances

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 777-8; *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, I, 377.
[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 181-2; *ASP. For. Rel.*, II, 344.
[76] Lyon, "Franco-American Convention," p. 330.
[77] Commonplace Book, May 20, 1801, Murray Papers, L. C.
[78] Jefferson to Madison, December 19, 1800, Paul L. Ford (ed.), *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1896), VII, 471.

pointed to Murray as the most logical candidate. There was no American minister in Paris and neither Ellsworth nor Davie was able to return to the French capital to aid Murray in this final phase of their joint undertaking. The Marylander alone was still easily available in Europe; his appointment was the most economical; he was the natural choice.

Although he had been the vital agent in the Franco-American rapprochement and this was the climax to his efforts, Murray was not elated by the new assignment. While on his way to Paris for the second time, this time as sole emissary, he confessed that

> nothing could have diminished the pleasure of so sweet a ride but the idea of going on such a mission—ignorant as I am yet of my instructions—I had hoped that government would have named the intended Minister for this object, as a good initiation.[79]

When the American minister, now weary and ill, reached the French capital he soon realized that the task before him was a trying one. He was irritated by the innumerable delays he encountered, and embarrassed and shocked to learn that the French government knew of his recall as minister to The Hague before he did.[80] In these negotiations over the exchange of ratifications he had once more to shoulder individual responsibility for the outcome of vital issues. Once more he was compelled to violate his instructions in the cause of peace.[81] The French would not accept in full the Senate modifications. Consequently Murray failed to obtain the indemnifications he was directed to seek. If Murray had not deviated from his instructions and had insisted that Napoleon recognize American spoliation claims, there would have been no treaty, and two years later there probably would have been no Louisiana Purchase. He did, however, persuade the French to acquiesce in most of the Senate changes, particularly the stipulation suspending the former treaties permanently and the claims arising from them, and the article limiting the convention to a period of eight years.

In the face of grave difficulties Murray accomplished his mission by following the spirit, if not the letter of his instructions.

[79] Commonplace Book, May 24, 1801, Murray Papers, L. C.
[80] *Ibid.*, August 5, 1801.
[81] Murray was in a dilemma. He was unauthorized to abandon the indemnities, but if he did not there would be no treaty. Commonplace Book, July 3, 5, 1801, Murray Papers, L. C.; Miller, *Treaties,* II, 483.

Ratifications were exchanged on July, 31, 1801.[82] Even before the task was completed, he was attacked by a prominent anti-Federalist in Paris as being the wrong man for the job, as being pro-British and anti-French, and as working against the best interests of his country out of spite over the recent defeat of the Federalists in the United States. He was even accused of sabotaging a quick exchange of ratifications lest his services no longer be required in France and in Europe.[83] Used by both his friends and political enemies, the Federalist diplomat was trusted by neither.

On December 11, 1801, about a week after Murray had returned to America, President Jefferson submitted the convention to the Senate for the third time. He believed it was necessary to do so because the Senate's original terms of approval had been changed. Notwithstanding the change and Murray's going beyond his instructions, the Senate, on December 19 consented to the convention for the last time.[84]

To both France and the United States the treaty was vital. To Napoleon it was essential in his grandiose schemes for Louisiana and a French North American empire.[85] To the infant American republic it brought peace with the most powerful nation on the European continent when full-scale war would have been catastrophic. It ended the quarrel over neutral rights and the difficulties that had arisen under the Franco-American treaties of 1778 and the consular convention of 1788. And by securing the good-will of Napoleon Bonaparte, it laid the groundwork for the ultimate acquisition of Louisiana. Under its terms the United States was freed from the first and only " entangling " alliance in the first 173 years of its existence as an independent nation. In return the American government gave up its insistent demand that France reimburse American citizens for the losses they suffered at the hands of French privateers and raiders since 1793. The United States government agreed to pay the claims of its citizens against

[82] Commonplace Book, August 1, 1801, Murray Papers, L. C.; *ASP, For. Rel.*, II, 344.

[83] Joshua Barney to Gen. Samuel Smith, Paris, July 11, 1801, Jefferson Papers, L. C.

[84] *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate,* I, 397-8; *ASP, For. Rel.*, II, 345.

[85] See E. Wilson Lyon, *Louisiana in French Diplomacy, 1759-1804* (Norman, Okla., 1934), p. 109; Frederick Jackson Turner, " The Policy of France Toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, X (January, 1905), 277.

France. This it did only partially, and long after the treaty was forgotten by all but a few students of government and history.[86]

Thus ended America's first undeclared maritime war, a quasi-war which for a while had smoldered but had never burst into full flame. More than any other American William Vans Murray was responsible for keeping the limited naval conflict from spreading; for the success of the long drawn-out negotiations; and for the enduring peace that was achieved. While others contributed much and actually determined policy, he alone worked steadily at the trying and far from glamorous project of building a peace from its faintest inception to its anti-climactic end. If there was a keystone to the fabric of Franco-American diplomacy that brought peace, he was it. But for him, there might have been no peace.[87]

Murray's messages from Talleyrand through Pichon, more than any other single factor, determined John Adams to act as he did in the face of party opposition.[88] His nomination of Murray as sole minister to France was the impulse which brought out into the open the diseased state of the Federalist party; it was the catalyst which started the break-up of America's first political coalition. True, men of greater stature than Murray were involved in the destruction of the Federalist party and in the diplomacy of peace, and there were other latent and more fundamental reasons. But even though there is always the danger of over-emphasizing his role and his importance in this episode of politics and diplomacy, it is nonetheless evident that Murray himself was a determining factor.

Murray was no mere helpless chip caught in the stream of politics and diplomacy; he had a mind of his own, and he used it.

[86] For a detailed survey of the claims payments see George A. King, "The French Spoliation Claims," *American Journal of International Law,* VI (1912), 359-380, 629-649, 830-857. These articles were reprinted, with additions, in 1916 as Senate Document 451, 64th Cong., 1st sess.

[87] Talleyrand, in a conversation recorded by Murray in his Commonplace Book, declared that the Marylander was the "real author" of the "amicable relations" between France and the United States, that he had "originated the rapprochement," that he had "superintended the conduct of it in the negociations," that he had brought it to its successful conclusion, and that Napoleon and himself considered Murray "solely as having effected this great work." August 10, 1801, Murray Papers, L. C.

[88] Regardless of "all other private communications" though they might have convinced him personally, Adams would not have nominated Murray and resumed the French negotiations without the "authentic, regular, official, diplomatic assurances" which the Marylander sent him. *Works of John Adams,* IX, 244.

He was an independent, purposeful thinker, not a party hack devoted solely to one cause; he was an American who thought of his country first, and of politics and proper diplomacy second. Although the political party to which he was fervently attached was destroyed in the process, his initiative produced the sequence of events which saved his country from a disastrous, perhaps mortal, war and helped pave the way for the epochal Louisiana purchase. If Murray's gravestone could be found, he like John Adams, would merit the inscription: "Here lies William Vans Murray, who took upon himself the responsibility of the peace with France in the year 1800."

A LIST OF PORTRAITS AND PAINTINGS FROM ALFRED JACOB MILLER'S *ACCOUNT BOOK*

By Marvin C. Ross

ALFRED JACOB MILLER kept a fairly complete list of paintings commissioned from him between the years 1846 and his death in 1874. The *Account Book* in which the artist kept this record belongs to his great-nephew,. Alfred J. Miller, who has kindly given me permission to make extracts from it.

All the paintings and water colors that are definitely identified as Indian or Western scenes have already been listed by me in *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller* (Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma Press, 1951, pp. xxxiii-xxxvii). A number of entries identified only as " sketches " or " water colors " were not included but have been entered here under " miscellaneous." These may or may not be Indian or Western scenes.

Miller painted a few religious paintings, particularly for his patron in Scotland, Sir William Drummond Stewart. He also made a number of miscellaneous paintings, landscapes, and still lifes, which are listed here. I have also added the copies made for local collectors which are of interest for the history of contemporary taste in Baltimore.

The other entries are all of portraits of which he did a considerable number, mostly in Baltimore although a few commissions came from elsewhere, particularly from the Breckinridge family in Kentucky. The entries in the *Account Book* have been simplified to give the name of the sitter, the size of the picture, the year it was painted, the person who commissioned the portrait if other than the sitter, and the price. The list has been arranged alphabetically since names of the sitters of many portraits are known when the artist's name has long been forgotten. Sometimes it is

possible, however, to identify the sitter if the family name is known and the picture is dated. There are a number of portraits painted before the *Account Book* begins.[1] Miller in one of his notebooks owned by his great-nephew, L. Vernon Miller, mentions he spent several seasons in Washington after his return from Scotland (1842) painting portraits. Among portraits painted before 1846 that do not appear in this list are those of Johns Hopkins and of his mother (painted in 1832) now owned by The Johns Hopkins University, and of Miles White, now owned by Mrs. Miles White, Jr. Of the portraits in the list, several are owned by the Maryland Historical Society and a number are illustrated in Wilbur Hunter's *Alfred Jacob Miller, Artist of Baltimore and the West* (Baltimore, The Peale Museum, 1950).

It is hoped that the publication of this list will assist in the location and identification of many more of Alfred Jacob Miller's paintings. A photostatic copy of the *Account Book* is in the Library of The Walters Art Gallery.

Portraits.

Allen, Mrs., 1847, for Wm. Heald, $80.00.
Appold, Mrs., 1848, for Geo. Appold, $75.00.
Arnold, daughter of, 1851, for Arnold, $75.00.
Bailey, Doctor, 1851, $60.00.
Bailey, Jessie and Curtis (children of L. E. Bailey), 34″ x 44″, 1858, for Lewis E. Bailey, $150.00.
Baker, Freddy (son of Wm. S. G. Baker), Cabinet 10″ x 10″, 1868, for W. S. G. Baker, $50.00.
Baker, Wm. S. G., 25″ x 30″, 1865, $100.00.
Baker, Mrs. W. S. G., 25″ x 30″, 1866, for W. S. G. Baker, $100.00.
Berkley, Mrs., ¾ length, 1854, for E. Berkley, $75.00.
Berkley, Cora, full length, 1854, for E. Berkley, $75.00.
Berkley, Edris and Maidie (son and daughter of Edris Berkley), 29″ x 36″, 1871, $250.00, two portraits.
Berkley, Harry (son of Edris Berkley), full length: 29″ x 36″, 1866, for Edris Berkley, $125.00.
Berkley, Laura, full length, 1854, for E. Berkley, $75.00.
Berkley, Ruth (daughter of Mrs. E. Berkley), 1864, for Edris Berkley, $100.00.
Bibber, Van, 1852, for Mrs. Van Bibber, $35.00.

[1] It is important to emphasize that many paintings by Miller prior to 1846 are in existence. New information (such as present location and ownership) about paintings by Miller, whether listed here or not, will be appreciated by the editor who will communicate it to the author.—*Ed.*

Black, Judge Jnʰ & wife, two cabinet portraits: 14″ x 17″, 1868, $140.00.
Black, Judge Jereʰ, copy of portrait of father of, 1866, for Judge Jere Black (York, Pa.), 30″ x 23½″, $100.00.
Black, Mrs. Jereʰ's father, repainting portrait of, 1866, for Judge J. Black, $75.00.
Black, Mrs. Jeremiah's Mother, Cabinet: 13″ x 16″, 1868, for Judge Black (York, Pa.), $72.00.
Black, R., child of, 1849, for R. Black (New Orleans), $100.00.
Bosley (near Govanstown), 1855, for G. M. Bosley, $70.00.
Bradford, 1846, per A. W. Bradford, $45.00.
Breckinridge, Charles with dog, Cabinet: 14″ x 17″, 1870, for Rev. Wm. Handy (Somset. Co. Princess Anne), $75.00.
Breckinridge, Charles, decd. (from photograph), oval 25″ x 30″, 1868 for his brother, Brevet Maj. Jos. J. Breckinridge (Lexington, Ky.), $132.00 with frame.
Breckinridge, Major Josʰ C., 25″ x 30″, 1868, $100.00.
Breckinridge, Mrs. Josh. H., cabinet: 10″ x 12″, 1868, for Josʰ Breckinridge, $50.00.
Breckinridge, Robert (painted in 1863), 20″ x 24″, 1868, for Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge, $75.00.
Breckinridge, R. C. (copy), 1861, for Wm. C. P. Breckinridge, $40.75.
Breckinridge, Rev. R. J., 1857, for R. C. Breckinridge, $50.00.
Breckinridge, Dr. & Mrs., 9 copies, 1857, for R. C. Breckinridge, $360.00.
Breckinridge, Rev. R. J., 4 copies—2 of himself and 2 of Mrs. Breckinridge, 1857, for R. J. Breckinridge, $175.00.
Breckinridge, Wm. C. P. (1 of himself and 2 of his late wife), 1860, $212.50, with frames.
Breckinridge, Col. Wm. C. P., 2 portraits of self & wife, 1868, $150.00.
Briscoe, Sam. W., 2 portraits, 20″ x 24″, 1864, for Samˡ W. Briscoe, $90.00.
Burdick, Miss, 1857, for Wm. Eichelberger, (not paid for) $40.00.
Cameron, Mrs. P., small oval, 1854, for L. Cameron, $35.00.
Cannon, Miss Augusta, 20″ x 24″, 1866, $75.00.
Carr, D. S., 1846, $50.00.
Carson, Mrs., 1854, for Thomas Carson, $100.00.
Carter, Jas. H. (Head), 1859, for Mrs. J. H. Carter, $75.00.
Chesnut, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. (2), 1852, for Wm. Chesnut, $100.00.
Clark, Mat B., Vignette, oval 7″ x 10″, 1857, for Matt B. Clark, $25.00.
Clendinen, Dr., 1849, $50.00.
Clendinen, Dr., from daguerreotype, 1852, for W. H. Clendinen, $50.00.
Clendinen, Mrs. Dr., 1849, for Dr. Clendinen, $50.00.
Clendinen, Dr. Junʳ, 1849, for Dr. Clendinen, $60.00.
Clendinen, Mary, 1851, for Isaiah Mankin, $40.00.
Clendinen, Miss Zenobia, 20″ x 24″, 1853, for Mrs. Jane Clendinen, $35.00.
Cobb, Mr. R., Cabinet portrait, 1853, for Ruth A. Cobb, $50.00.
Cobb, Mrs. R., Cabinet portrait, 1853, for Ruth A. Cobb, $50.00.

Cobb, Mrs., copy, 1858, $45.00.
Cockey, Mrs., repainting portrait of, 1868, for Wm. S. G. Baker, $50.00.
Cockey, Capt. Jno., 1868, for Wm. S. G. Baker (Balto. Co.), $100.00.
Coe, A. B., (post mortem), 1849, $50.00.
Cromwell, Richd, 1846, $50.00.
Cromwell, Mrs., 1846, for R. Cromwell, $65.00.
Crothers, Mr., with hands, 1858, for Crothers, $65.00.
Cunningham, Head of, 1853, possibly not finished, $25.00.
Dashiell, Dr. N., 1850, $85.00.
Dashiell, Mrs., two hands, 1850, for Dr. Dashiell, $85.00.
Dashiell, Miss Alice Ann, 1852, for Mrs. Dashiell, $75.00.
Dashiell, Mrs. copy of, 1852, $50.00.
Deford, Charles, 1856, for Wm. Deford, $45.00.
Deford, Wm., 1852, $45.00.
Deford, Mrs. Wm., Oval, 1853, for Wm. Deford, $45.00.
Denny, Mrs. M. A., 1854 (Talbot Cy.), $75.00.
Dickinson, Mrs., 1848, for Wm. Dickinson, $50.00.
Dorsett, two copies of portraits, 1849, for Dorsett of Davidsonville (A. A. Cy.), $100.00.
Dorsett, two portraits (copies), 1850, for Dorsett of A. A. Cy., $100.00.
Dorsett, Mr., 1864, for L. H. Dorsett (South River), $50.00.
Dorsey, Miss, (from daguerreotype) 29″ x 39″, 1855, for Miss S. Dorsey, $122.00.
Dorsey, Dr. Fred (1776-1858), 5′ x 4′, 1852, for Dorsey (Hagerstown), $200.00.
Dudley, Dr., 1864, for Wm. Warfield (Lexington, Ky.), $77.00.
Dulin, Mrs. Dr. (del. Nov. 15, 1850), 1849, for Dr. Keener, $60.00.
Dunbar, Mrs. Dr. & son Mackie, 1851, for Mrs. Dunbar, $100.00.
Dunbar, Robt. (son of Dr. Dunbar), 1851, for Dr. Dunbar, $50.00.
Duncan, J. M., 1847, for Wm. Heald, $85.00.
Durand, Mad., 1853, for Mme. Durand, $40.00.
Dushane, Mrs., 1855, $50.00.
Dushane, Harry, Howard & Fredk, 1955, for John Dushane, $50.00.
Dushane, Jno., 25″ x 30″, 1855, for N. E. Berry, $50.00.
Early, crayon sketch, 1849, $10.00.
Early, Mr., 1848, $50.00.
Early, Harriet (daughter of J. D.), 1852, for H. Early, $75.00.
Ellicott, Mrs. Ed., oval, 1854, for E. T. Ellicott, $40.00.
Ellicott, Ed., 1854, for E. T. Ellicott, $40.00.
Eubank, Mr. Philip, 1854, for T. P. Eubank, (Montague P. O., Essex Cy., Va.) $50.00.
Eubank, Mrs. T., 1854, for Dr. H. T. Eubank, $50.00.
Ferguson, Ben. F., 1855, for Col. Geo. P. Kane, $100.00.
Foster, Miss, 1855, for W. W. Foster (Maltby House), $65.00.
Franklin, cabinet portrait, 1847, for Ross Winans, $40.00.
George, Jas. B., 1853, for Union Lodge, $50.00.
Gephart, I., 1855, $45.00.

Gephart, Mrs., with hand, 1855, for I. Gephart, $55.00.
Gover, Mrs., 1853, for Philip Gover, $75.00.
Gover, George, two copies of portrait, 1857, for Geo. P. Gover, $150.00.
Gover, Girard, infant child of, 1856, for Girard Gover $75.00.
Gover, Robert, 1854, for Gover, $35.00.
Gover, T. H., (from daguerreotype) 1853, for G. Gover, $75.00.
Grafton, Miss, 1856, for Miss Isabell Grafton, $40.00.
Grinnell, Infant of Mrs., cabinet, 1853, $50.00.
Grinnell, Daughter of Mrs., cabinet, 1851, for Grinnell, $35.00.
Grinnell, Charles, 1857, $35.00.
Grinnell, Mrs. C., 12″ x 16″, 1856, $35.00.
Gunn, Mrs. (possibly not paid for), 1861, $50.00.
Hall, Geo. W. S., cabinet, 1856, $35.00.
Hall, G. W. S., vignette, 1857, $35.00.
Hall, G. W. S., cabinet, 1857, $45.00.
Hall, Jas., cabinet, 1856, $35.00.
Hall, Miss, 12″ x 15″, 1858, for Dr. Jas. Hall, $35.00.
Hall, Mr. Wm. Wilmot, cabinet, 1869, for Mrs. Mary C. Hall, $60.00.
Hammond, Dr., cabinet, 1855, $40.00.
Hammond, Mrs. Dr. and child, 1855, for Dr. Hammond, $50.00.
Hammond, Miss Kate, Kit-cat,[2] 1854, for Charles Hammond, $120.00.
Hare, Mrs., 1848, for D. H. Miller, $100.00.
Harris, Chapin, cabinet, 1850, $30.00.
Harrison, Anna, (daughter of Mr. Frederick Harrison), full length, 1858, for Fred[k] Harrison (Govanstown), $80.00.
Harrison, Mr. Ed., 1852, $72.00.
Heald, Alice (daughter of Jno. Heald), 1852 (possibly not completed), $75.00.
Heald, Charles & Alice, 1856, for Wm. Heald, $150.00.
Heald, Ed[d], 1847, $75.00.
Heald, Ed[d], copy, 1847, $75.00.
Heald, John, 1852, $60.00.
Heald, Mrs., 1852, for Jno. Heald, $60.00.
Heald, Wm., 1847, $80.00.
Heald, Wm. (copy), 1847, credit Board, D. H. Miller, $100.00.
Heald, Wm., 1848, for D. H. Miller, $100.00.
Henderson, Mrs., 1847, for H. Henderson, $75.00.
Henderson, Mrs., 1848, for H. Henderson, $50.00.
Henderson, Miss Blanche, 1848, for H. Henderson, $70.00.
Henderson, Miss E., 1846, for H. Henderson, $70.00.
Henderson, Master H., 1846, for H. Henderson, $70.00.
Henderson, Henry, Kit-Cat, 1847, $75.00.
Henderson, Miss Mary, 1847, for H. Henderson, $70.00.
Henderson, Rebecca H., 1850, for H. Henderson, $40.00.
Hooper, Jas., 1850, $75.00.

[2] Indicates the size of portrait: less than half-length.—*Ed.*

Hoppe, Mrs., 1848, for Hoppe, $75.00.
Howell, Miss E., 1847, for Dr. Edmondson, $60.00.
Hutchins, Infant child, oval, 1852, for Mr. Luke Hutchins, $50.00.
Jacobson, daughter of John, vignette, 1863, for John Jacobson, $50.00.
Jacobsen, Daisy (daughter of Jno.), oval vignette 20″ x 24″, 1868, for Jno. Jacobsen, $75.00.
Jenkins, Ed., oval, 1854, for Edward Jenkins, $75.00.
Jenkins, Daughter of Mark, 1854, for Mark Jenkins, $60.00.
Jenkins, Mrs. Mark, 1853, for John T. Jenkins, $50.00.
Jenks, Mrs., 1848, for F. H. Jenks, $60.00.
Jenks, Master T., 1848, for T. H. Jenks, $75.00.
Johns, Richard, 1852, $75.00.
Johnson, Col. W. F., 2 hands, 1851, $70.00.
Kavanagh, Mrs., Kit-cat, 1847, $85.00.
Keilhofer, Mrs. (2 sons of), 1855, for Geo. Keilhofer (Hagerstown), $100.00.
Keilhofer, Harry, Howard, Fred[k] (group), 1855, for Geo. Keilhofer (Hagerstown), $150.00.
Keilhofer, Miss Louisa, 1856, for George Keilhofer, $50.00.
Kennedy, Mrs., 1851, for Kennedy, $30.00.
Kill [Kell], Judge Thomas, two portraits, 1846, $90.00.
Krauth, Mrs., Kit-cat, 1852, paid for by Jos. Reynolds, $75.00.
Kurtz, Mrs. T. Newton, 20″ x 24″, 1854, for T. Newton Kurtz, $40.00.
Landstreet, Miss, cabinet, 1854, for Landstreet, $50.00.
Lee, Miss, 1854, $30.00.
Lee, Josiah, 1852, for Mrs. Josiah Lee, $125.00.
Lee, Josiah, (the late), 1856, for Charles Lee, $80.00.
Lee, Josiah, (copy), 1857, for Gerard Gover, $95.00.
Lilly, Mrs. A., 1857, for Alonzo Lilly, $45.00.
Lilly, Alonzo, 1856, $45.00.
Lloyd, Mr. Wilson, 1854, for Mrs. W. Lloyd, $40.00.
Macklin, Robert (son of Mrs. Eliz. Kelso Blackwood), 25″ x 30″, 1868, for Mrs. Blackwood, $100.00.
Mankin, Dr. Clendinen, cabinet, 1849, for I. Mankin, $40.00.
Mankin, Mrs., 1847, for I. Mankin, $70.00.
Mankin, H., cabinet, 1849, $40.00.
Mankin, Mr. H. & 2 daughters, 1848, for H. Mankin, $250.00.
Mankin, Mrs. H. & child (group), 1847, for H. Mankin, $180.00.
Martin, Mr., 1853, $40.00.
Martin, Mrs., 1853, $40.00.
Maxwell, Mrs. Wm., 1858, for Wm. Maxwell, $45.00.
McConnell, father of Lieut., Kit-cat (from daguerreotype), 1854, for Lieut. McConnell, $75.00.
McDonald, Mrs., cabinet, 1855, $30.00.
McEldowny, Mrs., 1848, for McEldowny, $50.00.
McSherry, Mrs., miniature, 1855, $25.00.

Mealey, Lawson and Ed. (children), 1856, for E. M. Mealey (Hagerstown, Md.), $115.00.
Miller, Mrs. Eliz, credit Board, D. H. Miller, $100.00.
Morrison, Mrs., 1865, for Rev^{d} Dr. Morrison (Lex^{n}, Ky.), $75.00.
Murguiondo, P. de, 25″ x 30″, 1865,, $100.00.
Murguiondo, Victor and Prudencio with dog, two children of P. de Murguiondo, 1865, not paid for.
Murray, Mrs. Jane (aunt of Mrs. Rutherford), 20″ x 24″, 1866, for Rev. E. H. Rutherford (Petersburg, Va.), $93.50.
Nelson, George, 1846, $65.00.
Nelson, Mrs. Geo., 1846, for Geo. Nelson, $75.00.
Nesbit, Rev. Charles, 1854, for Judge Nesbit, $50.00.
Palmer, Dr., 1854, $30.00.
Palmer, Mrs. I. (Head), cabinet, 1853, for Dr. Jas. Palmer, $25.00.
Patterson, Miss May, full length, 1857, for Henry Patterson, $85.00.
Pearson, Joseph, 1860, for Geo. R. Vickers, $100.00.
Pendleton, Mrs., 1847, for R. W. Pendleton, $150.00.
Pendleton, two children, 1846, for R. W. Pendleton, $120.00.
Pickering Mrs., 1846, for Saml. Pickering, $75.00.
Pigman, Mrs., 1856, for Mrs. Mary E. Pigman, $50.00.
Posey, Mr. F., vignette, 1853, for Fred J. Posey, $35.00.
Posey, Mrs., vignette, 1853, $35.00.
Potter, Mrs. Col., 1852, for Col. Z. H. Potter, $60.00.
Punderson, Mr. E., 1853, for E. M. Punderson, $40.00.
Punderson, Mrs., 1852, for E. M. Punderson, $40.00.
Punderson, two children (group), 4′ x 3′, 1856, for E. M. Punderson, $130.00.
Reynolds, Isaac (copy), 1848, for Jos. Reynolds, $60.00.
Rhinehart, Cabinet: 7″ x 10″, 1858, for W. T. Walters, $30.00.
Rieman, Alex^{r}, 1849, $60.00.
Rieman, Mrs., 1849, for Alex. Rieman, $60.00.
Rieman, Mrs. Alex, Sketch, 1861, $15.00.
Rieman, Henry, 1861, for Fred A. Hack, $50.00.
Rieman, Joseph, 1849, $60.00.
Rieman, son of Wm., 20″ x 24″, 1863, $60.00.
Robinson, Mrs., 1846, for Wm. Robinson, $60.00.
Rout, Mrs. (Versailles, Kent^{y}), Oval 20″ x 24″, 1867, $75.00.
Schindel, Infant of Mrs., 1858, $50.00.
Schindel, Saml. E., (6 portraits), four, 25″ x 30″ & two on 1 canvass, 29″ x 36″, 1856, for Saml. E. Schindel (Hagerstown), $275.00.
Selden, Mr., Kit-cat, 1855, for Miss Cassie Selden (Lynchburg, Va.), $97.00.
Sewell, Daughter of Mrs., 1851, for Richard Sewell, $70.00.
Shepherd [Sheppard], Moses, 1856, $85.00.
Shepherd [Sheppard], two copies, 1856, for Moses Shepherd, $150.00.
Sindall, Harry 29″ x 36″, 1857, for Saml. Sindall, $75.00.

Smith, Mary (daughter of Richard), Cabinet oval, 1855, for Richard Smith (Alex[a]), $40.00.
Smith, Mr. Rich[d], Oval, 1852, for Richard Smith, $60.00.
Smith, Mrs. Richards S., Oval, 1850, for R. S. Smith, $60.00.
Smith, Wm. Prescott's daughter, 1857, for Wm. Prescott Smith, $75.00.
Sothoron, Miss, 1852, for L. Hutchins, $75.00.
Sprigg, Danl., 4 x 3, 1852, for Daniel Sprigg, $100.00.
Stabler, Mrs. F., 1855, for F. Stabler, $45.00.
Stansbury, Col., Cabinet, 1849, for John Stansbury, $45.00.
Stansbury, Col., (from daguerreotype), 1853, for Carville Stansbury, $60.00.
Stansbury, Mrs., 1849, for C. Stansbury, $60.00.
Stein, Mrs., 1853, for Meyer Stein, $60.00.
Stewart, Dr., full length, 1848, $150.00.
Stewart, Wm., 20″ x 24″, 1856, $50.00.
Stimpson, J. H., 1850, $75.00.
Stone, Mr. S., two hands, 1848, for S. Stone, $80.00.
Stonehakers, John W. (Hagars[n].), 1856, $35.00.
Stonehaker, John W., 1857, $35.00.
Stump, Sen[r], Mr., 1848, $70.00.
Stump, Mrs., 1848, for Stump, $70.00.
Sullivan, Mrs. Henry, 1848, for H. Sullivan, $75.00.
Sullivan, I., cabinet, 1848, for Sullivan, $40.00.
Sullivan, I., Cabinet, 1848, for F. Sullivan, $40.00.
Sullivan, Jere, (2 copies), 1864, for nephew, P. H. Sullivan, $80.00.
Sullivan, J[n], Cabinet, 1849, for H. Sullivan, $40.00.
Sullivan, J[n], 2 cabinet portraits, 1849, for H. Sullivan, $80.00.
Sullivan, P. H., 1849, $75.00.
Sullivan, father of P. H. (copy), 12″ x 14″, 1864, for P. H. Sullivan, $40.00.
Sullivan, Mrs., Cabinet, 12″ x 14″, 1864, for P. H. Sullivan, $40.00.
Tagait [Tagart], Col., 1852, for Col. Wm. Tagait [Tagart], $95.00.
Theobold, Dr., 1846, $50.00.
Thomson, son of Victor, 1855, for Victor Thomson (Hagerstown), $60.00.
Towson, Miss, 1855, for Jacob Towson, $50.00.
Trigo, Wm. H., 1856, $40.00.
Tyson, Mrs., 1846, $50.00.
Warfield, Ben[en], 25″ x 30″, 1866, for brother, Wm. Warfield (Lexington, Ky.), $130.00.
Warfield, Wm.'s sister (copy) 1870, for Wm. Warfield (Lexington, Ky.), $85.00.
Warfield, Mr. W. and B. Warfield, 5 copies, 1857, for Wm. Warfield, $200.00.
Warfield, daughter of Wm., 25″ x 30″, 1866, for Wm. Warfield (Lexington, Ky.), $135.00.
Warfield, Wm.'s son, Oval cabinet, 1863, for Wm. Warfield (Lexington, Ky.), $56.50.

Washington, Cabinet portrait, 1847, for Ross Winans, $40.00.
Way, Mr., Cabinet, 1849, $30.00.
Way, Mrs., vignette, 1853, for And. J. Way, $35.00.
Weathers, son of Mrs., full length, repainting portrait, 1869, for Mrs. Weathers, $80.00.
Webb, Sen[r], Mr., 1848, $50.00.
Welsh, Katy, (daughter of Mrs. Jno. B.), 20″ x 24″, 1868, for Mrs. Jno. B. Welsh, (York, Pa.), $60.00.
Wilson, infant child, 1850, for H. Wilson, $75.00.
Wilson, Melville, Cabinet, 1855, for Wm. C. Wilson, $50.00.
Wilson, Mary, Darcy and Thos., 3 cabinet portraits, 1858, for Thos. J. Wilson, $150.00.
Wilson, Thos., copy, 1846, for Dr. Wilson, $50.00.
Wilson, Wm. C., Esq., Kit-cat Oval, 1854, for Wm. C. Wilson, $100.00.
Wilson, Wm. C., Cabinet, 1856, $50.00.
Winans, Madame Celiste, 1847, for Ross Winans, $100.00.
Winans, Miss Julia, 1847, for Ross Winans, $100.00.
Young, Mr., Cabinet, 1849, $37.00.
Young, Mrs., 29″ x 36″, 1858, for Wm. T. Young, $150.00.

Copies.

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Copy, (?), 1846, for Carroll Spence, $30.00.
Copy of picture, 1854, for W. W. Spence, $50.00.
Copy of Jos. Cox, Esq., 1846, for Johns Hopkins, $50.00.
Copy, Head of Beatrice Cenci, 1856, for Chas. Lee, $50.00.
Copy, Head of Rembrant, 1849, for Dr. Edmondson, $30.00.
Copy of Ruins (Cororanti), 1846, for J. S. McKim, $200.00.
Copy, Spanish Nobleman, 1850, for Dr. Edmondson, $60.00.
Copy of Sully, 1854, for Jas. Coale, $35.00.
Copy from Sully, (Mrs. Stump), 1847, for Miss Stump, $65.00.
3 pictures, Stud. Raphael, 1857, for J. Stricker Jenkins, $100.00.
Copy, Webster at Marshfield, cabinet, for Cunningham, 1853, $30.00.

Religious Paintings.

Christ's Charge to Peter, 1846, for Sir William Drummond Stewart, $800.00.
Jepthahs Vow, 1847, to Sir Wm. D. Stewart, $968.88.
Marriage at Cana, 1857, for J. H. Stickney, $60.00.

Miscellaneous.

1 Cabinet Picture, 1863, for Harrington, $30.00.
3 Cabinet Pictures, 1863, for Harrington and Mill's, $89.50.
(View of) Cape Palinas [Palmas], 1858, for Geo. W. S. Hall, $100.00.
Crayon Sketch, 1852, for Ed. McDowell, $8.00.

Crayon Sketch, 1852, for Leon Barnard, $10.00.
Critic, 1869, for Col. A. Miller, $45.00.
Design for Ship Ravenel, 1846, $10.00.
Drawing, 1852, for Sam'l Early, $10.00.
2 Drawings, 1852, for Zimmerman, $10.00.
Drawing, Palm Fruit, 1859, for G. W. S. Hall, $15.00.
Dutchman Smoking Pipe, Cabinet picture, 1864, for P. H. Sullivan, $45.00.
Election Catonsville, 1869, for Col. A. Miller, $55.00.
Fruit Pieces, 1856, to J. Stricker Jenkins, $40.00.
Fruit Pieces, 1857, for Wm. C. Wait, $45.00.
Harry as Country Boy, 1864, for P. H. Sullivan, $60.00.
" Jacques Moralizing," 1870, for Wm. H. Norris, $35.00.
Niagara Falls in New Orleans, 1860, for Brantz Mayer, $150.00.
2 Italian pictures, oil, 1859, for W. C. Wait, $40.00.
(View of) Ponte Rotto, Rome, 1856, to Dr. Edmondson, $45.00.
(View on) Shenandoah, 1853, to Art Union (N. Y.), $60.00.
Boy picking Eggs, " " " " $35.00.
" Hard Times," " " " " $25.00.
Sketch, 1848, for Graff, $5.00.
Water Color Sketch, 1861, for J. A. Hoogerwerft, $18.00.
11 Sketches (water color), 1862-3, for Butler and Co., $117.25.
3 Water Colors, 1862-3, for Jos. Freyer, $37.50.
2 Water Colors, 1862-3, for Harvey Shriver, $24.00.
5 Water Colors, 1863, for Butler and Co., $52.50.

BELMONT, HOWARD COUNTY

By John H. Scarff, F. A. I. A.

SOUTHWEST of the Patapsco River, near its junction with Rockburn Branch, is situated the estate of " Belmont " in what is now Howard County.[1] Its gently sloping land is about 400 feet above and three miles from what was once the tidal estuary. It lies along the " fall line " at which the fresh waters from the western hills join the brackish tides.

The early settlers of this region arrived by way of the Chesapeake and its numerous estuaries, a fact that had much to do in determining their character and pursuits.[2] It afforded them an easy facility for trading and social intercourse, and in a country without roads, it did much to shape and ameliorate their manners. Most planters had navigable water at their doors. Both shores of the Bay to the mouth of the Susquehannah were taken up before the interior of the tidewater counties had ceased to be backwoods or " forests " as they were usually called. The Bay abounded in fish and water fowl and the forest in all sorts of game. The soil encouraged the growth of both hard and soft woods, all the chief grasses, berries, and before the first generation had passed the land was planted with orchards of apple and peach. There were few sheep because of the numerous wolves, but the settlers had many cattle and the woods swarmed with hogs and wild horses.

[1] The writer wishes to acknowledge valuable assistance in the preparation of this article generously given by Mrs. Howard Bruce, Mr. and Mrs. H. Alexander Smith, Jr., Mr. Daniel Murray, Mrs. William F. Bevan, Mr. William B. Marye, Mrs. James M. Hemphill, Mr. John M. Hemphill II, and Mr. Frank Murray.

[2] A complete and thorough social and cultural history of Maryland incorporating modern scholarship has not been published. Much valuable information can be found in the following studies upon which the writer has relied: J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 1-103; Matthew P. Andrews, *History of Maryland* (Garden City, N. Y., 1929), *passim*; Charles A. Barker, *Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 1-116; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Old South, The Founding of American Civilization* (New York, 1942), *passim*; Wesley F. Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Baton Rouge, 1949), pp. 183-261, 296-309; and Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities* (Baton Rouge, 1952).

The bulk of Maryland settlers after the first colonization were yeomen—generally an earnest and industrious class. The tenure of land under a quit-rent was made easy by the provincial government. Labor was scarce, valuable, and welcome.

The early colonists were not an educated people in the modern sense and thought more often of horse-racing and cock-fighting than of books. Those who had a forest to clear had little time for schoolmasters. Members of families with proud armorial bearings on their tombs could sometimes neither read nor write and made their marks. Libraries were few and meager even in Annapolis. Newspapers were poor and mean. The body of the people was illiterate, and English speech deteriorated.

By the last half of the 18th century the manners of the colonists had benefited by two generations of acquired wealth. Annapolis had become one of the most cultivated towns in America and a distinct aristocratic class existed, comparatively large, wealthy, and often well-educated. In tidewater communities the country folk kept up all the rough sports and games—fox-hunting (at first often on foot), racing, and cock-fighting, and even bear-baiting and bull-baiting, according to one writer.[3]

Against this background of Provincial Maryland we may come to understand "Belmont" from its start through its checkered history of seven generations of the same family, to the present day. According to legend the site of Belmont was first seen by Englishmen toward the end of the 17th century when Dr. Mordecai Moore while on a surveying expedition saw it.[4] He recognized its advantages as a site for a home and seven years later took out a patent for it under the name "Moore's Morning Choice."[5] We know very little else of Dr. Moore other than that he married the widow of William Burgess and that he speculated in land.[6] But before 1732, a century after the founding of the Colony, he sold Moore's Morning Choice to Caleb Dorsey of Annapolis and of "Hockley-in-the-Hole" on the Severn.[7] Caleb presented it to his

[3] Scharf, II, 70.

[4] The tract was surveyed for him on May 5, 1689, Rent Roll, Baltimore Co., p. 197, Calvert Papers No. 883, Maryland Historical Society.

[5] Patent No. C # 3, f. 180 (November 10, 1695), Land Office, Annapolis.

[6] J. D. Warfield, *Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties* (Baltimore 1905), p. 339; J. M. Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1914), pp. 167-168.

[7] Warfield, *op. cit.*, p. 339; Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

son Caleb who with his wife Priscilla Hill, some years later, built himself a house there. It is, in all important respects, the house that stands upon the site today, and on each side of the entrance door one can still see a stucco plaque which reads " C P D 1738."

It is said that the first Dorsey (or Darcey) to immigrate was Edward who had settled in Virginia near the present site of Norfolk.[8] He came to Anne Arundel County in 1650 and had three sons—Edward, Joshua, and John. John, the progenitor of the " Belmont " Dorseys, served as a member of the Council, or Upper House, of Maryland. He died in 1714. His son Caleb, who married Elinor Warfield, and who was residual legatee of his father's estate, purchased and gave to his son Caleb land at Moore's Morning Choice.

Caleb, Jr., known as the " Ironmaster," inherited a large fortune from his father, and he increased it by the development of the iron resources of the neighborhood. His principal iron works were at the head of Curtis Creek. The dam and millpond used at the Avalon iron works may still be seen, but research has yet to establish proof of Caleb's interest in Avalon.[9] At that time the Patapsco

[8] For genealogy, see M. J. Dorsey, J. M. Dorsey, and N. B. Nimmo, *The Dorsey Family* (1947); Warfield, *op. cit.*; and H. W. Newman, *Anne Arundel Gentry* (1933).

[9] Further information about the iron works of the Dorseys may be found in " Some Notes on the Hockley, Elk Ridge, Avalon and Curtis Creek Iron Works " contributed to the Society by William B, Marye. In his " Notes " Mr. Marye (following Joseph T. Singewald, Jr., " Report on The Iron Ores of Maryland," *Maryland Geological Survey*, IX, 168-171) states that the Curtis Creek furnace was situated at Long Bridge Branch (known today as Sawmill Branch) near the head of Curtis Creek on land granted to Caleb Dorsey, Edward Dorsey, and Alexander Lawson in 1759. Edward Dorsey (1718-1760) was an Annapolis attorney and brother of Caleb of Belmont. In 1760 Edward willed his share of the iron works to his brother Richard, and in 1772 Caleb willed his share to his eldest son Samuel. The works were sold to a Mr. Barker in 1773 by Samuel Dorsey, Jr., Charles Ridgely, Michael Poe (Pue?), William Goodwin, and William Buchanan. As late as 1840 the works were being operated by J. Barker and Son, but Mr. Marye points out that he is unable to reconcile Barker's interest in the property with the fact that General Charles Ridgely possessed it at his death in 1829.

Mr. Marye also draws attention to the confusion which has often taken place between the Elk Ridge Furnace in which the Dorseys had an interest and the Hockley Forge of the Baltimore Company. He has found no evidence that the Dorsey furnace at Elk Ridge Landing passed into the hands of the Baltimore Company, nor that the two works are identical, but believes that a relationship has been inferred between the two because of a similarity between the name " Hockley," site of Hockley Forge which was resurveyed by Charles Carroll and called " Barren Hills," and the Dorsey plantation " Hockley-in-the-Hole," many miles away.

No evidence was found by Mr. Marye that Caleb Dorsey of Belmont ever had an interest in the works at Avalon known as " Dorsey's Forge." Caleb's son Edward, however, had stock " at the Forge in Baltimore County " when he died. Samuel Dorsey, Jr., and Edward Norwood advertised on Nov. 17, 1774, in the *Maryland Gazette* for the return of a servant to " Dorsey's Forge."—*Ed.*

was navigable by full-rigged ships to Elkridge Landing at the foot of the hill on which Belmont is situated. The Landing was a port of entry and ships not only carried away iron manufactures from it but great quantities of tobacco that had been rolled down the "Rolling Road" from plantations farther west.

Caleb, Jr., married Priscilla, daughter of Dr. Henry Hill of Londontown, South River. According to legend, Caleb first met Priscilla when on a fox-hunt.[10] The day was spent when, far from home, he inquired his way from a lady on horseback. She directed him to her father's home nearby. There, as was the custom, he was welcomed and asked to spend the night. As the story goes, he stayed more than one night and the friendship thus started ripened, and before long Caleb and Priscilla were married. They had three sons—Edward, Henry Hill, and Samuel; and seven daughters—Mary, Milcah, Rebecca, Priscilla, Peggy Hill, Elinor, and another Priscilla, for the first died when a child. Edward married his cousin Elizabeth Dorsey, daughter of Col. John Dorsey and Mary Hammond, and inherited the home plantation. Rebecca married Charles Ridgely the builder of "Hampton" in Baltimore County. She was not the only Dorsey to be mistress of Hampton. In due time her sister Priscilla married Ridgely's nephew Charles Carnan, who inherited "Hampton," assumed the name of Ridgely and served as Governor of Maryland from 1816 to 1819.

We would like to know more about Caleb, the Builder. We know that he was born in 1710; that he inherited a handsome estate, and while still in his twenties married and built himself a home. He had nine children, farmed his lands, ran a forge and iron foundry with his brother Edward, and died in 1772 at 62 years of age a rich man. At his death he was in possession of 3,000 acres, 93 slaves, and the inventory of his effects valued them at £8383, 12 s—no small sum for the time.[11]

He lived in a day when the Province was accumulating wealth and when Annapolis was a thriving and civilized town. But Caleb lived a number hours away by horse back. A journey there was not to be undertaken lightly even though he had "1 charriott and 1 sulky." The fact that in his inventory his effects included but two pieces of mahogany—two "stools"— indicates

[10] Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-171.

[11] Anne Arundel Co. Testamentary Papers (Inventory), Box 1A, Folder 34 (October 21, 1772), Hall of Records, Annapolis.

that he was not tempted by that newly introduced and fashionable wood, then being used for furnishing the new houses there. His silver consisted of " 1 Silver Tea Pott Cream Pott & Pepper Box " valued at £6. Although he had a bookcase, the list does not include any books. A letter at the Maryland Historical Society from him to " Charles Carroll Esqr, Barrester at Law nare Baltimore town " indicates that he had no great mastery of written English.[12]

As we reconstruct his life, we are sure he was busy with his crops and his livestock which numbered 466 at the time of his death. He had also to oversee his slaves and keep them fed and clothed. He had to check the many items in his store rooms and supervise his iron industry, and trade the manufactured goods advantageously for English goods, probably at the dock at Elkridge Landing. He had to construct and keep in repair the numerous buildings on his estate and during all that time his home was abuilding, for the tax records of 1798 show that one wing was not yet finished.[13]

When Caleb died in 1772 Priscilla continued to live in the house that she and Caleb had built, and when thirty-four years later she died, her will did not mention the home plantation, for her son Edward had already inherited it from his father. She bequeathed eight Negroes to her daughter Priscilla and " all her cloathes, Linen, Flax and Thread," and to her granddaughter Priscilla Pue " one hundred pounds Common Money." [14]

Edward was popularly known as " Iron-Head Ned." He operated his father's enterprises in partnership with his brother Samuel. He married his cousin Elizabeth Dorsey in 1786 and their daughter Mary married Daniel Murray of Annapolis and eventually inherited Rockburn. Priscilla, who came into possession of Belmont, married Alexander Contee Hanson, the most colorful of all the owners of Belmont.

The will of Edward, signed March 22, 1799, directed that his property " shall go as the Law of the State of Maryland directs."

[12] September 6, 1764, Carroll-Maccubbin Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

[13] Huntington Hundred, Anne Arundel Co., Tax Assessments Records of 1798, Maryland Historical Society. The entry reads: " 1 Story brick dwelling house 50 by 24 passage at each end 16 feet 2 wings 2 Story 30 by 20 one not finished brick 1 Stone out house 20 by 16 1 do 18 by 16 Land Moors Morning Choice Enlarg'd H. Hundred."

[14] Anne Arundel Co. Wills, T. G. No. 1 (October 10, 1782), f. 75.

He appointed his "beloved wife, Elizabeth Dorsey, Executrix."[15] But unexplainably on the sixth day of May in the same year Elizabeth executed a quit-claim to the "several Bequests and Devises, made to me in the Will of my Husband, deceased, and elect in Lieu thereof my Dower and third part of his Estate both real and personal." She continued to live at the home plantation until she died in 1802.[16] In 1815, sixteen years after the death of Edward, the estate was partitioned.

It appears that Edward considerably increased the size of the estate bequeathed him by his father. His inventory was valued at £ 12,431, 5s, 8d and included wearing apparel at £ 20 (his father's had been valued at £3), 536 ounces of plate, over 40 pieces of mahogany, 140 books, 17 prints, a "piano forty," 30 gallons of whisky and two barrels of apple brandy.[17] There were 114 slaves listed, about 300 animals and nineteen farm and forge buildings in addition to the dwelling house.

The origin of the name Belmont and who gave it remains a mystery. All the early documents simply state Caleb or Edward or Priscilla, etc., "of Anne Arundel County." The Tax List of 1798 names tracts comprising the Edward's estate as follows:

Moore's Morning Choice....	1662	acres	
Caleb's Vinyard	200	"	
Chew's Vinyard	349	"	
Gretion Seage	412	"	
First Discovery	230	"	
Second Discovery	116	"	
Part of Caleb's Purchase	276	"	Total 3245 acres.

Edward's will directed that certain tracts be sold "to wit: Rebecc Lotts, Little Worth and the Valley of Owin, the Gretion Seage and Chew Vinyard" and in a postscript "the following tract or parcells of Land be disposed of . . . to wit: The first and second Discovery, his eighth part of the Millbank situated on the Patapsco River and held in Company with Charles Ridgly of Hampton" who was his brother-in-law.[18] The earliest original document found by this author on which the name occurs is a

[15] Anne Arundel Co. Wills J. G. No. 2, f. 73, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[16] Chart of Mrs. Edwin Wingate Poe, Colonial Dames of America, Chapter I, (copy in Maryland Historical Society). Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[17] Anne Arundel Co. Testamentary Papers (Inventory), Box 44, Folder 30, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[18] See note 15.

letter in the Maryland Historical Society written by Alexander Contee Hanson and headed "Belmont," written in 1815. It is the author's guess that the name was first given at the time of the partition of the estate in 1815 when Priscilla Hanson received what came to be called Belmont and Mary Murray, what came to be called Rockburn. After the division there would be a need for names that did not exist when the estate was all one. Although of Italian origin, like "Belvidere" and "Montebello" near Baltimore, it probably came by way of England, for there are twenty-two "Belmonts" listed in the *Gazetteer of the British Isles* [19] and there were certainly two in Maryland.

Alexander Contee Hanson [20] was born in Annapolis in 1786 and married Priscilla Dorsey in 1805 when he was nineteen years old. His father,[21] for whom he was named, had been a Maryland jurist of Revolutionary fame and at the time of his death was Chancellor of the State. The son graduated from St. John's College in 1802 and six years later founded the newspaper, *Federal Republican* of Baltimore, that was to establish his reputation as a violent anti-administrationist. He attempted to show that Jefferson had sold out to France and was supporting Napoleon, and that the hope of law and order, even of civilization, lay in England. When war with that country came near he rained abuse on Madison and his government. When war was actually declared in June of 1812 he became, if possible, even more pro-British. In July a howling mob attacked the office of the paper on South Charles Street.[22] With a few friends he erected a barricade and defended the building. The Mayor stood by but was unwilling or unable to stop the disorder. The civil authorities decided that the defenders of the freedom of the press should be moved for greater safety to the city jail. But the next morning, when Hanson and his party attempted to leave the jail, the mob attacked again. In the battle General Henry Lee ("Light Horse Harry") was killed and most of the gallant party, including Hanson, severely wounded. Hanson moved the paper to Georgetown. However, in 1813 he was elected Congressman and in that position he continued his fulminations and was in continual

[19] Bartholomew's 9th edition.
[20] *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 231.
[21] *Ibid.*, 230-231.
[22] See J. H. Schauinger, "Alexander Contee Hanson, Federalist Partisan," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (1940), 354-364; Scharf, III, 1-24, and Andrews, pp. 423-426.

difficulties. In 1815 he quarreled with the Federalist Party and a year later retired from the House, for his health had never recovered from the attack of the Baltimore mob. In 1816 he was appointed to the Senate to fill the vacancy created by the death of his friend Robert Goodloe Harper. He died April 23, 1819, at the age of thirty-three.[23]

There is no doubt that Hanson was a man of great courage and character, but his fiery disposition and violent partisanships led him into frequent difficulties. His conduct of the *Federal Republican* was costly. He was constantly embarrassed for lack of cash, as his correspondence shows.[24] He was forced to borrow from his friends to pay his creditors. He wrote in a letter to a friend, probably the publisher Edward J. Coale: [25]

> But I must live and I do not see how I can retrench. . . . Next February Mrs. Hanson comes to her fortune, when I hope to be out of debt and to live handsomely upon my income besides accumulating for those that are to come after me. It is provoking to be pestered about $1500 by the Bank of Baltimore when I have such resources in reserve, so handsome an income. . . . John Dorsey refused—as I expected—and who of the name would not refuse.

His preoccupations did not, however, preclude an interest in his farm. He wrote to Priscilla in 1815, " The [clover] is blossoming and almost tall enough to cut. . . . So much for plaistering [liming] in February. It has thrown me full & fortnight or ten days ahead of all by neighbors who stick to the beaten track." [26] On May 18, 1816, from " Belmont " he wrote to his friend Coale: [27]

> You are almost the only friend I have in Baltimore that has not rode out to see me. I told you last summer it would give me great pleasure to have as guests you and your good lady, with whom I have had no opportunity of cultivating an acquaintance. I go to Montgomery on Wednesday, but bear in mind, about the first of June, the season of dainties commences. The strawberry beds begin already to show their blushes and the pea vines bend with the weight of the filling pods. In a week or ten days, we can

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[23] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1794-1949* (Washington, 1950), p. 1264.

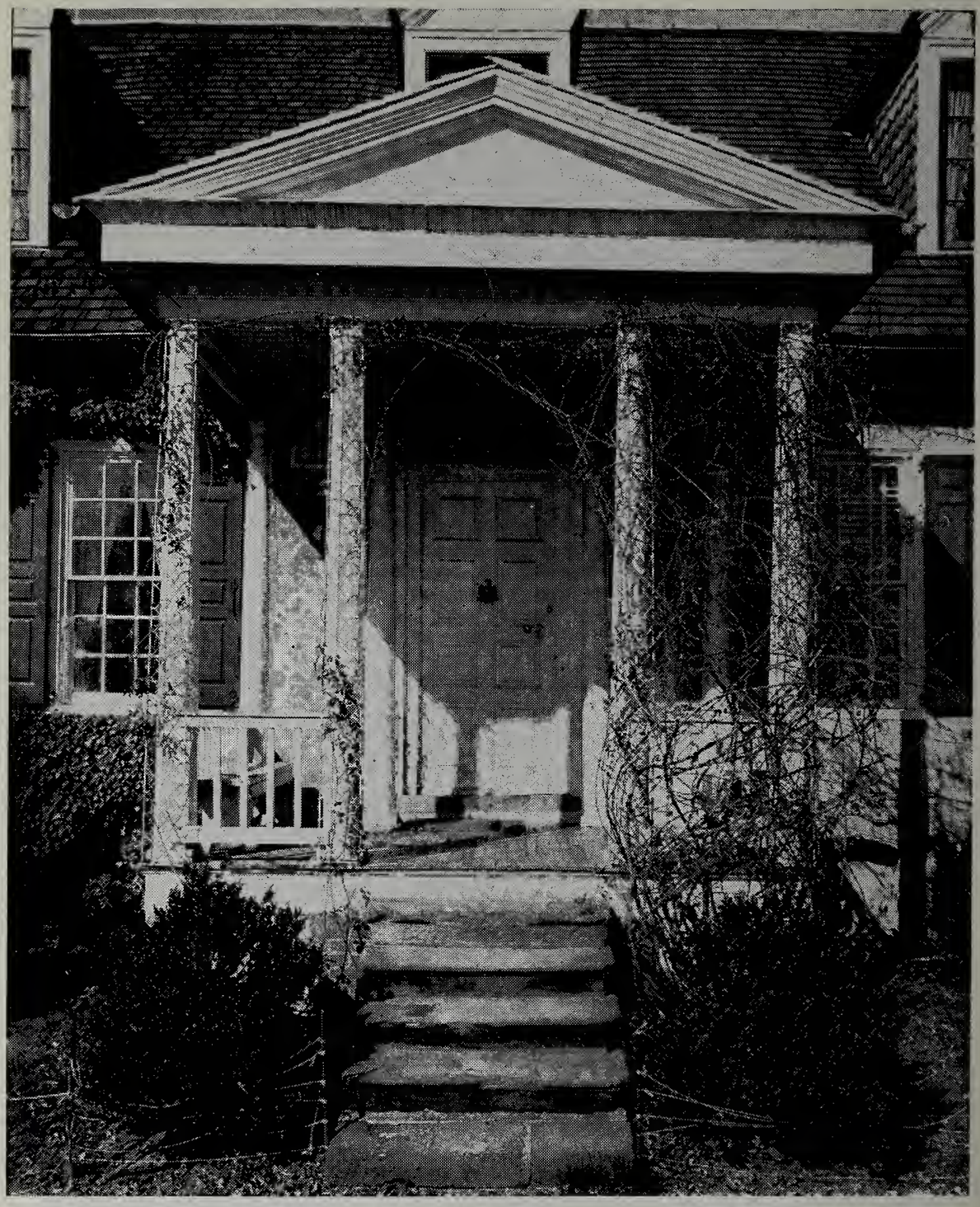
[24] Mr. and Mrs. Howard Bruce and Mr. and Mrs. H. Alexander Smith, Jr., have presented to the Society many of his letters and certain other papers relating to Belmont. They also have permitted the Society to microfilm Hanson letters which they retain.

[25] A. C. Hanson MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] " Belmont Album," letters in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Howard Bruce. (Microfilm in Maryland Historical Society.)

THE PARLOR AND THE DRAWING ROOM, LOOKING NORTH



THE ENTRANCE PORTICO

One of the Plaques Reading "C P D 1738" can be
Seen at the Left of the Transom

ALEXANDER CONTEE HANSON, JR. (1786-1819)

" Pink Paper " Drawing by St. Mémin

Collection of the Baltimore Museum of Art

MR. HOWARD BRUCE ON BILLY BARTON AT BELMONT

Overmantel Painting by Franklin B. Voss at Belmont

treat you both in abundance, with the early cherry in addition. The pastoral fare we shall offer you will be lambs from our own flocks, pigs and poultry from our own barn yard, and your lady and little one may count certainly on a serenade every morning from the feathered songsters of the meads and groves. After an hours warning, Mrs. Hanson presented me with a sturdy boy last week, and she is now confined at Mrs. Donaldson's but in a week she will return home. . . .

Again in an undated letter he wrote to Coale: [28]

I agree with you that something must be done quickly, or my credit is gone, and my enemies triumph. . . . At the close of the ensuing winter an estate valued at $250,000 is to be divided, and a fifth of it falls to my use. I have also invested $11,000 *cash in* Fed Republican, which of late for the first time yielded a profit. Besides this we have debts exceeding $14,000 which we are determined to collect this year. I will transfer my interest in the paper as security, or Mrs. Hanson will join me in a mortgage of her property to my friends who will take up my notes at the Banks of Md. & Baltimore, which amount to about 8 or 9000 $ [The investment in the *Federal Republican*] is good, not only in a pecuniary point of view but as relates to my fame and ability to be useful to the country, for to the paper I owe my elevation, and but for the Fed. Republican I should have been a petti-fogging attorney without practice, and in point of note & respectability barely upon a level with your Ridgelys.

But from 1816 to 1819 a Ridgely was Governor of Maryland!

The partition of the estate of Edward Dorsey, the father of Priscilla Hanson, took place in 1815. About that time Hanson wrote [29] in poor health from Georgetown:

Between ourselves, I am in treaty for the sale of the Federal Republican. I mean to retire to Belmont to recruit my health and fortune, and to devote all the time which can be spared by either to literary pursuits. I want knowledge and must acquire it. Heretofore my mind has been but negligently cultivated. The system of farming heretofore followed on the place of my retirement is a good type or symbol of the mental culture I have experienced. The fields have been barely scratched by shallow one-horse ploughs, the blue grass has eaten out the wheat, and in some spots the sedge and wild briar have taken entire possession, while the old mansion for the want of a few necessary repairs in due time is almost in a state of dilapidation.

and in 1817 to " Dear Priscilla ": [30]

. . . As soon as you hear of Mrs. Thomas' arrival in Baltimore I wish you to propose coming down with her immediately as I am very lonesome and

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[28] *Ibid.* [29] *Ibid.* [30] *Ibid.*

at times really require nursing.—Geo Washington [31] wishes me to take his son Edward's age—saying he will esteem it the greatest favor in the world, and considering which he had engaged to give for his board and schooling very moderate. You had better write me on the subject without delay. I should like very much by the time I paid my next visit to see the store room papered and that above, and the roof plastered and pitched to prevent leaking, also the doors with ledges to keep out rain from the school room. . . .

His tumultuous life, his constant agitations, his quarrels, had exhausted his poor health. He died in 1819. His only son was three years old!

The goods and chattels and personal estate of Alexander C. Hanson were appraised at $4,406.31.[32] These old inventories are interesting to compare for they afford a revealing glimpse into the manner of living of their time. Hanson's wearing apparel, including "gold watch, pistols, saddle and bridle" was valued at $200. He owned mahogany, walnut and pine furniture, 20 stair rods, and old Piano, $75 worth of Books, 16 portraits and pictures, 6 images, and 166 ounces of plate valued at $166. At the time of his death he owned twelve slaves and 129 animals. Some of his possessions showed that he was a progressive thinker. He owned a stove—an innovation at the time, and some "cutting and seeding macheins."

Priscilla was now alone and she saw her fortune shrinking. In 1839 she was obliged to mortgage Belmont to John Worthington of Anne Arundel County for $1500. Her son Charles Grosvenor Hanson was then thirty-three years old. In 1832 and again in 1835 she sold land. Charles was no help to her. That she understood him and had small confidence in him is evidenced by the provisions of her will, for in it, trying to assure the inheritance for her grandchildren, she stipulated that should her son attempt to encumber the estate or any creditor try to take it by any proceeding it should then pass immediately as if by inheritance to her son's wife, or to heirs if she were already deceased.[33] Charles had married Ann Maria Worthington. Priscilla died in 1849.

[31] George C. Washington (1789-1854), grandnephew of the first president, Member of Congress from Maryland, 1827-1833 and 1835-1837, and president of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Co.

[32] Anne Arundel Co. Inventories, 1818-1820, ff. 267-270, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[33] Howard Co. Wills, 1840-1862, I, f. 214, microfilm, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Charles Grosvenor, as his mother had feared, brought nothing but trouble to Belmont. On January 8, 1875, the Sheriff of Howard County sold Belmont, containting 600 acres, to I. Parker Veazey of Baltimore for $25![34] Four years later in a case wherein John W. Hanson *et al* were the complainants and I. Parker Veazey defendant Belmont was declared by the Circuit Court of Howard County the absolute property of the children of Charles Grosvenor Hanson.[35]

Charles Grosvenor and Ann Maria had nine children — Alexander Contee, Mary Worthington, John Worthington, Charles Edward, Priscilla Hill, Murray,[36] Grosvenor, Annie Maria, and Florence Contee. Charles Grosvenor enjoyed good living and frequently after the death of his wife in 1873 his " enjoyment " rose to such a pitch that his daughters, rather than remain at Belmont, preferred to visit friends till life at home resumed a more even tenor. Once, as the story goes, even his servants left and he found himself without breakfast, so he walked down to visit his cousin, Francis Key Murray, at Rockburn.[37] He had a superstitious notion that any work done in the family cemetery would in some way bring about his death and so the cemetery fell into a sad neglect. Affairs went from bad to worse. Income from the estate was now insufficient to keep the family. Then tragedy struck!

A cousin, Charles Ridgely White, upon a visit, standing on the steps of the portico, was shot by Edward, with only imagined provocation. Evening was approaching and the unfortunate Edward disappeared into the gathering darkness. When he was finally apprehended he was taken to the Ellicott City jail and later to the Spring Grove Asylum where he lived to be an old man. Once he escaped, crossed the Patapsco and returned to Belmont where he climbed in at the window of his old room and got into bed with his brother. He died in 1931. His sister Priscilla also required great toleration, for it is said that she wandered at all seasons across fields and in and out of neighboring houses at will. The remaining brothers secured remunerative employment and the two sisters, Miss Nannie and Miss Florence, made and sold pre-

[34] Interview with Mr. Daniel Murray, October 30, 1952.
[35] Equity records Circuit Court of Howard Co., L. J. W. # 8, f. 454 (July 20, 1879).
[36] Murray (son of Charles Grosvenor and Ann Maria Hanson) who was sometimes called " Squire " Hanson was first Master of the Elkridge Hounds.
[37] Interview with Mr. Murray.

serves and pickles which they stored in the " ball room." It is said that Thomas Corner, the Baltimore artist, once saw a portrait of George Washington by Gilbert Stuart used as a screen to prevent drafts from a window.[38] Later it was sold to the Frick Gallery in New York. Finally Miss Nannie, the last surviving child of Charles Grosvenor and Ann Maria remaining at home, in 1917, sold Belmont to her cousin Mrs. Bruce. Mrs. Bruce is of the seventh generation from Caleb and Priscilla, the Builders, for her mother was a Murray of Rockburn. Her grandchildren now living on the estate are of the ninth.[39]

Miss Nannie took pride in her old home, safe now after the storms of so many years, and often returned for a visit till one day she lay there for the last time just before she was taken to join her ancestors in the family cemetery on the hill beyond the garden.

The owners of this land have been:

Mordecai Moore — Ursula (Burgess)

Caleb Dorsey — Elinor Warfield
1685-1742 1683-1752

Caleb Dorsey — Priscilla Hill
(the builder) 1718-1781
1710-1772

Edward Dorsey — Elizabeth Dorsey
(Iron-Head Ned) ? -1802
1758-1799

Priscilla Dorsey — Alexander Contee Hanson
1789-1849 1786-1819

Charles Grosvenor Hanson — Ann Maria Worthington
1816-1880 1821-1873

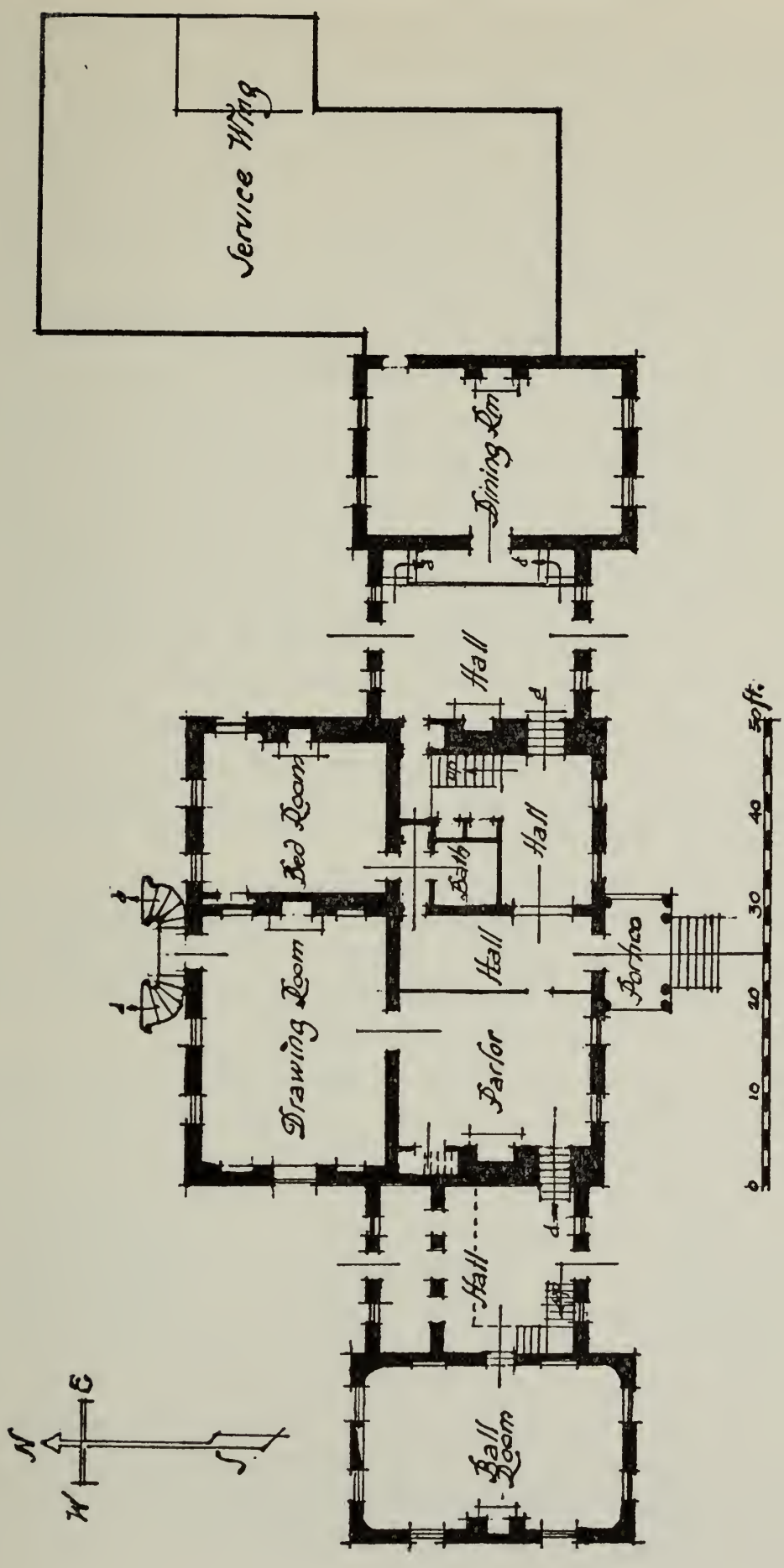
Annie Maria Hanson
1858-1943

Mary Graham Bowdoin — Howard Bruce
(purchased in 1917)

The " great house " that Caleb and Priscilla built so long ago is

[38] Interview with Mr. Murray.

[39] Belmont does not lack the ghost story every great Maryland house is supposed to have. Hammond (*op. cit.*, pp. 176-177) recounts the legend in which the visitor suddenly hears the sound of horses' hoofs and jangling harness, creaking wheels and rumbling carriages, opening doors and scraping feet. The explanation given is that some of the forefathers are coming home from Annapolis in the coach and six. Then the sound of wheels and the clatter of hoofs signals the departure of the " Belmont ghost."—*Ed.*



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF BELMONT

The Drawing Room and Bed Room Were Added in 1927

in the characteristic Maryland five-part architectural tradition. The central block, 24 by 50 feet, one and one half stories with chimney at each gable end, was probably the first part built. There is a two-story wing at each end, connected by a low hyphen, the services are housed to the east, and to the west is the " ball room." Bedrooms occupy the second floor. The two wings, at a lower level, compose pleasantly with the central block. Originally a stair in each hyphen and in the central hall led to the bedrooms above. The entrance on the south side is under a small portico and at each side of the door, as previously mentioned, there is the signature plaque—" C P D 1738," for Caleb and Priscilla Dorsey. At one time, probably during the Hanson regime, a porch was added across the north side. This porch was not constructed at the time of the original building because the main cornice of the house was discovered at the time the house was enlarged by the present owner, Mrs. Howard Bruce, under the sloping porch roof. In Caleb's day a central hall extended front to back in southern style through the house and in it the stair rose immediately opposite the entrance door. To the right was the dining room and beyond, at a lower level, the kitchen. To the left was a parlor, and beyond the hyphen, also at a lower level, the " ball room " which occupied the entire first floor of that west wing.

The brick house is today covered with stucco. There is a dentilled cornice in excellent scale around the hipped roofed wings and on the portico. The parlor is panelled. The " ball room " has unusual rounded corners and book shelves on each side of the entrance door and the fire place opposite.

Mrs. Bruce enlarged the house in 1927 very skilfully without altering the appearance of the exterior. The porch along the entire north side was removed and a new north wall was built nineteen feet from the old one. This difficult architectural feat was done without noticeably altering the roof. It was accomplished by doubling the chimney at each gable end and connecting them by a flat roof between the two slopes. Thus from the ground today, except from the east and west, there is no observable difference in the aspect of the house. A new service wing has been constructed beyond the old east wing and the kitchen has been converted into a dining room. The stair has been removed from the central hall and from the east hyphen. A new one has been placed just east of the east partition of the hall and from a landing one can reach the

second story of the rooms over the dining room. A door leads from the new room in the north addition to the terrace whence a short flight of brick steps takes one to the box garden below. Although the monumental box, alas, is no more, it has been replaced. On a distant hill, a little to the east of the main axis of the house, one can plainly see the grave stones in the cemetery. Only to a very acute observer would the house today appear different from the one built more than two centuries ago by Caleb and Priscilla.

The estate now contains about 1000 acres.[40] Its green fields are beautiful against the autumn foliage. The " great house " is surrounded by maples and black walnuts, at their finest when only a few leaves still linger. Post and rail fences border the mile long lane and surround the fields. Standing on the portico before the plaques put up so hopefully, one looks to all sides to woods where the fields leave off. One sees only the gently rolling Maryland landscape and far off the blue horizon.

Inscriptions on the grave stones read as follows: in the center,

HANSON

Samuel Contee	Alexander Contee	Mary Worthington
Feb. 24, 1854	Nov. 2, 1840	Jan. 12, 1842
	May 28, 1857	Sep. 23, 1863

twins
Bessie Lee
Alice Howard
1864-1865

Charles Grosvenor	Priscilla Hanson	Annie Maria
May 16, 1816	July 2, 1846	Sept. 17, 1821
Oct. 17, 1880	April 16, 1925	March 11, 1873
Also his wife	Asleep in Jesus	Rest till the Resurrection Morn

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[40] Mr. Bruce owned the internationally famous horse, Billy Barton, whose name was on the lips of many Marylanders in the 1920s. He won the Maryland Hunt Cup in 1926. His greatest fame was earned in defeat (he finished second) caused by an accident at the Grand National steeplechase at Aintree, England, in 1928. Billy Barton died two years ago at Belmont at the advanced age of 33.—*Ed.*

G. Edward Hanson
1848-1931
Come unto me and rest

Priscilla Hanson
1860-1935
Blessed are the pure in heart

Francis Key Murray
Born July 20th, 1853
Died Aug. 13th 1872

John W. Hanson
Feb 7, 1844
April 21, 1916
May he rest in peace

Annie M. Hanson
1858-1943
He giveth his beloved sleep

Grosvenor Hanson
Aug. 10, 1856
Oct. 5, 1916
Thy trials ended,
Thy rest is won.

Murray Hanson
July 20, 1851
March 5, 1918
He is not dead but sleepeth

Hon Thomas P. Grosvenor
Died
April 21st 1817
in the
37th year of his age

This mortal must [ ] by immortality.

There is still another stone with an old inscription unreadable, and in a smaller and adjoining enclosure:

Howard
Infant son of
Mary & Howard Bruce
Dec. 30, 1921
Jan. 15, 1922

The last burial within the enclosure was that of Dan Sims, a former Belmont slave.

MARYLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1952

THIS is the second in a series of annual bibliographies of printed references to various phases of Maryland history that appeared in the previous year. The principles of selection used in the compilation of last year's bibliography (*Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLVII [March, 1952], 55-61) have again guided the editors who gratefully acknowledge assistance given by the staff of the Maryland Department of the Enoch Pratt Free Library. Materials in this *Magazine,* the *Maryland History Notes,* current government publications, undocumented newspaper articles are specifically omitted. Some entries of publications with marginal Maryland interest are included in the hope that the editors err on the side of completeness; a few words of comment have usually been added to such entries explaining their probable interest to Marylanders. A new section listing theses and dissertations (even though unpublished) appears this year.

The entries which follow are listed alphabetically under four headings: I. Books; II. Pamphlets and Leaflets; III. Articles; and IV. Theses and Dissertations. (*Entries under* III. Articles *are listed alphabetically by publication*).

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REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Archives of Maryland, Volume LXV. (Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland, 1670/1-1675.) Edited by ELIZABETH MERRITT. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1952. 738 pp. $5. (To members of the Society, $3.).

Ancient court records are not regarded as light reading; it is thought that they are examined only by dusty legal scholars seeking light on old points of procedure. Sometimes, however, a glint or two of human quality may shine between the lines of their stilted and formal phraseology.

Thus, in the very first case reported in Dr. Elizabeth Merritt's new volume on the Provincial Court Proceedings of Maryland, we find what might be termed the "Colonial" or "Golden Age" method of dealing with a kind of domestic problem which is not unknown even in this degenerate 20th Century. At a Provincial Court held at the "City of St. Maryes" on February 17, 1670/1, "in the nine and thirtieth year of his Lordshipps Dominion, etc. over this Province of Maryland," Elizabeth Moy complained that her husband was dangerously sick, and that his servant Nicholas Bradley is "stubborne and Rebellious; that said servant refused to obey any of her lawful Commands, and besides had purloined several things out of her house." Bradley did not deny the charge. The Golden Age remedy ordered by the Court was that the Sheriff cause the said Bradley to be whipped immediately with six lashes upon the bare back.

Another problem for which the solutions of the 17th and 20th Centuries are in closer harmony was presented on May 6, 1674, when John Le ffebure, evidently a Frenchman, petitioned the Court (p. 543) alleging that he was "diseased by certaine infirmity of old Sores fallen into his legg, that he is unable to worke for his liveing . . . but almost Starved." He prayed for allowance for a maintenance or to transport him to his native Country. The Provincial Court was informed that the County Court of St. Maries County had allowed him 800 pounds of tobacco towards his transportation, and, without benefit of alphabetical or bureaucratic assistance, it appointed Mr. Clement Hill to arrange for Le ffebure's passage, and to pay him any balance of the tobacco remaining after the payment of his passage money.

We approach even closer to the *mores* of the present day in reading of John Robert Harper, who was a man Servant and Chirurgeon possessed by Garret Vansweringen (p. 546), who was also "possessed of divers medicaments, plaisters, drinkes, Cordialls, julips, and Other wholesome and fitt things for the cure of distempers." John Quigley was "sicke and languishing under a grevious distemper called the gripping of the Gutts." He agreed to pay Vansweringen as much as the paines and skill of

the said Robert should be worth. Harper cured Quigley, but Quigley, "deviseing craftily and Subtilly" to defraud Vansweringen, did not pay. Whereupon, Vansweringen sued for 5335 pounds of tobacco. Quigley denied the promise, and "put himself upon the country," i.e., prayed a trial by jury. The jury found for Vansweringen, but awarded him only 3335 pounds and costs.

Dr. Merritt does not express her approval or disapproval of these solutions of the Labor-Management, Relief, and Medical Problems which loom so large in the present day. Her function has been to reproduce accurately the records of the Provincial Court's proceedings from 1670 to 1675; and this she has done with scholarly care and completeness. The present volume is the 65th in the *Archives of Maryland,* and the 10th of the Court Series; it maintains the high tradition and standard of scholarship begun in 1883 by William Hand Browne, and continued by Clayton Coleman Hall, Bernard Christian Steiner, J. Hall Pleasants, and Raphael Semmes.

Publication of the proceedings of the Provincial Court in the *Archives of Maryland* began in 1887 (Vol. 14, Court Series 1). In six volumes (Court Series 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, and 10) these proceedings have now been completed from 1637 to 1675. The present volume adds its measure to the store of learning and reliable data regarding the history of this Province and State. The cases recorded apparently cover the whole range of affairs in the colony.

This reviewer is not competent to write a scholarly criticism of the work of Dr. Merritt or to compose a comprehensive review of her volume. Fortunately, however, such a review is not necessary, for Dr. Merritt herself has, in her Introduction, written the best possible review of her own book. Legal records, in addition to being dull, are hard to put together, and it is only by painstaking concentration, selection and coordination that they can be made to tell a story, or constitute an intelligible picture. In that introduction she has compressed into about forty pages a concise and interesting outline of the structure of the court, the functions and character of the clerks, attorneys, and juries, and a description of the nature of the litigation of various kinds. She has also included notes on the jury system, criminal cases, appeals, and outlines of some of the more important civil litigation, the records of which are interspersed in chronological order with the records of other cases. Her observations on the difficulties of reproducing the records indicate the care and labor required to compile such a volume as the present one. Her accurate and complete indexes deserve high praise.

To the modern American, the most striking fact about the court seems to be a complete disregard of the theory of separation of powers which today is regarded as a fundamental necessity for free government. The men who acted as judges of the Provincial Court were at the same time members of the Governor's Council, members of the General Assembly, judges of other courts, and holders of various other offices. But no one seems to have complained.

To the modern American lawyer, the records are quaintly phrased, and the pleadings short and incomplete. Other documents, however, are recognizable as the prototypes of modern legal forms. Thus, the wording of the confession of judgment (p. 285), the bond (p. 308), the bill of lading (p. 148), and the conveyance (p. 503) which are set forth in full, might almost be used today. The law of Maryland has had in large measure a spontaneous and indigenous growth. This volume is a valuable contribution to the record of that growth.

EMORY H. NILES

The Ancient South River Club, A Brief History. By the Historical Committee of the Club, THOMSON KING, Chairman. [Baltimore?], 1952. 60 pp.

In recent years the South River Club, which for two centuries has stood on a byway in Anne Arundel County, near All Hallows Church, has opened its doors to the Garden Club Pilgrimage and roused thereby considerable general interest. This can now be satisfied by this delightful and comely little book. Primarily destined for members of the Club and their families, it has been brought out in a small limited edition, copies of which will soon find their way into the public libraries.

The writing of such a history is not as easy as one might think. Of the physical set-up of the Club, the story is soon told: a charming, rather weary-looking little wooden building,—very old, very Southern, with its outside brick chimney-stack and detached kitchen—overshadowed by noble battered oaks. There are amusing and enlightening excerpts from the Minutes, which are most informative as to the life of Maryland planters from the 17th century down to this day. Many of these folkways are tenderly kept alive by the tradition-loving Club members. They include the throwing of quoits and the brewing of a delicious and insidious punch, the recipe for which is tantalizingly withheld.

Far more delicate was the task of analyzing (without bogging down in mysticism and sentimentality) the complex of comradeship, family ties, patriotism, faith, ownership of land and racial homogeneity that has sustained the existence of this little group for nearly two hundred and fifty years. It has been successfully accomplished, however, by the anonymous compilers of the book. Those who read carefully in and between the lines will understand why the members of another much younger Club, who came as guests to South River last Spring, departed much impressed, feeling as they did that for a few happy hours they had been privileged to share "deep and secret things."

J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

Anna Ella Carroll and Abraham Lincoln: A Biography. By SIDNEY GREENBIE and MARJORIE B. GREENBIE. Univ. of Tampa Press, 1952. $6.

Writers who claim that their researches call for a rewriting of Civil War history and of Lincoln's part therein may expect to arouse much interest. The Greenbies assert that Anna Ella Carroll, daughter of Gov. Thomas King Carroll, was "Lincoln's one woman Office of War Information and Board of Military Strategy," and a "key figure" in his nomination. They claim that Anna Ella Carroll "devised the campaign [Tennessee River] that broke the back of the Rebellion," and state flatly that "No other woman contributed so much to the salvation of her country in a political, legal, moral and military way."

Documentation is considerable, as evidenced by 35 pages of citations and notes, and 10 pages of bibliography. No known available source has been neglected. The authors turned up some 200 important letters hitherto unpublished that have been presented to the Maryland Historical Society. The work is completely indexed.

Knowing Anna Ella Carroll better than any but her contemporaries, the Greenbies have shown a zeal and determination in presenting their story that is praiseworthy—up to a point. In places they have been carried away with their enthusiasm. They have combined documentary evidence with "synthetic" (their term) passages. The latter make excellent reading, but the unsuspecting reader may be misled by these sections which are undocumented. The authors admit to many hunches and surmises and state (p. 505) that where "records have been mutilated or destroyed, psychology must step in and, with sleuthlike determination, reestablish the facts." The reviewer is not clear on how psychology re-establishes fact in this connection.

Miss Carroll was unquestionably a tremendously intelligent woman, on close terms with and a valuable adviser to many of the leaders of the day. She was, as we are told, the greatest woman in Abraham Lincoln's life, a smart press agent, and one who was never properly recognized even in her day, nor properly compensated for her services despite agreements made. The emphasis given to the latter point becomes tiresome, regardless of the justice of her claim. At times Anna Ella Carroll seemed more interested in securing recognition than in rendering her services as adviser behind the scenes, an honor not then commonly accorded women in national politics.

This writer cannot accept without much reservation the chapter "Anne Holds Maryland." This was allegedly the result of Miss Carroll's influence over Gov. Thomas H. Hicks and members of the legislature. Perhaps she did help stiffen Hicks's less than firm (on occasion) backbone, but many other factors kept Maryland in the Union, not least among them being the use of military force, arbitrary (though frequently justified) arrests, suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, martial law, and economic ties with the North.

The recognized scholars of the Civil War are taken to task for not having given Miss Carroll her just deserts. Sandburg, in particular, receives rough treatment. Nicolay and Hay, who certainly should have known of Miss Carroll's contributions, ignore her as do the *Official Records of the Rebellion.* Robert Todd Lincoln is charged with destroying records concerning her, except for unimportant or damaging items. Randall and Coulter did not have access to all the records used by the Greenbies. George L. Radcliffe, biographer of Hicks, knew about Miss Carroll but did not mention her, say the Greenbies, "out of deference apparently to then existing prejudice." Radcliffe is quoted as saying if rewriting the story he would stress Miss Carroll's outstanding service and great influence. Mary R. Beard is quoted as stating that her husband, Charles A. Beard, read Miss Carroll's *Reply to Breckinridge* and said: "That pamphlet alone convinces me of the whole story."

In summary, the authors have properly elevated Miss Carroll to a position of influence as an important adviser and writer. But in recognizing her prominence, it still cannot be conceded that she was indispensable to the Union victory as the authors apparently would have us believe.

CHARLES B. CLARK

Washington College

Charles Willson Peale, Artist and Patriot. By BERTA N. BRIGGS. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952. 258 pp. $3.

Berta N. Briggs' *Charles Willson Peale, Artist and Patriot* is one of a series of biographies of such men as Alexander Hamilton and George Rogers Clark, collected under the general title *They Made America.* Unfortunately the shadow of this august company seems to have led the author into the mistake of overemphasizing Peale's role as a soldier and as an intimate of the great. At best Peale's activity as a revolutionary soldier was highly undistinguished, and his relationship with the great heroes of the critical years in the formation of the American nation was not as intimate as Peale might have wished. Even as an artist, Peale does not rank with Stuart in portraiture, nor with Trumbull as a recorder of the stirring events of the Revolution. Actually, the vital part of Peale's contribution to our culture lies in his founding of the first museum in America. As this country's first museum director he played a role for which he was particularly well suited as he had an inquiring mind, mechanical and scientific ability, as well as a certain flair for the dramatic.

It is to be regretted that the author has devoted so large a share of the book to the years of Peale's life spent during the Revolution; for these were only years of many trials and many failures, years of youth that undoubtedly were colored by romantic nostalgia at the end of Peale's life when he succumbed to the urging of his family and friends to write the

reminiscences that must form the basis of his biography. It is only in the last quarter of the book, that the author portrays Peale's mature years in which he became both a fascinating personality and an original contributor to American civilization.

CHRISTOPHER GRAY

The Johns Hopkins University

American Georgian Architecture. By HAROLD D. EBERLEIN and COURTLANDT V. HUBBARD. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1952. 56 pp. $7.50.

Marylanders who take pride in the high calibre of local Georgian architecture will find this book in pleasing harmony with their views. Although the volume deals with examples to be found in New England, the Middle colonies, and the South, the discussion of Maryland houses comprises an impressive portion of the latter category.

The authors' appreciation of the Free State's contribution to American Georgian architecture is suggested in their statement that nowhere in America are there finer Mid-Georgian homes than those found in Maryland. Among the eighteenth century structures which are singled out for this honor are Montpelier in Prince George's County; Tulip Hill and Whitehall in Anne Arundel County; the Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis; and Mount Clare in Baltimore.

The illustrations in this publication are particularly good, having clarity and crisp architectural detail. There are excellent views of the Old State House at St. Mary's City, and other 17th century buildings which pre-date the Georgian period. Also included are houses that were constructed at the beginning of the Federal Period; Homewood, in Baltimore, is one of these.

Of the out-of-state structures which are illustrated and discussed, most attention is focused upon those in Williamsburg, Philadelphia, and Boston. Although there is no pretense at including every example of Georgian architecture in America, the concise text and carefully chosen plates are well organized to define the period.

BENNARD B. PERLMAN

The Johns Hopkins University

Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which it Grew. Volume II. By GEORGE M. BRYDON. Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1952. 688 pp. $10.

This, the second of a three-volume study of the Anglican Church and its successor the Episcopal Church in Virginia, covers the period from 1727 to Bishop Madison's death in 1812. In preparing this history Dr. Brydon used such a wealth of source material that it is easy to understand

why five years elapsed between the publication of Volumes I and II. Since the author is generally recognized as the greatest authority on the history of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, readers expected much of this volume and they have no reason to be disappointed.

This reviewer accepts Dr. Brydon's conclusion that most non-Anglicans who complied with the laws regulating dissenters and who refrained from abusing other denominations, were not only tolerated but even protected by the colonial officials. Compliance with these laws does not seem to have been particularly onerous, as it consisted largely of having a clergyman present his credentials, record the places at which he intended to preach regularly and keep the door of his church open during services. Officialdom at Williamsburg realized that Anglicans in the Valley of Virginia constituted a minority group and, to the detriment of the clergy there, recognized that the use of tobacco as a monetary medium in the payment of salaries could not well be required west of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Although Dr. Brydon is a staunch Episcopal minister and a loyal Virginian, he does not gloss over the defects of certain unworthy rectors and he cites the great difficulty with which they were removed as one of the many reasons why the colonies should have been given a bishop. Furthermore, he makes no attempt to minimize the plight of the Episcopal Church in the Commonwealth from the Revolution to 1812—the period during which it reached its nadir.

The latest volume of *Virginia's Mother Church* is actually a concise study of all religious groups in Virginia during this eighty-five year span and not merely a discussion of the oldest denomination. Its comprehensiveness increases its usefulness, but it will also subject Dr. Brydon to criticism from non-Episcopalians. The Baptists, especially, will probably feel his statement—that for the "most part," the early Baptist preachers were "uneducated men" (p. 180)—is a little too broad. They could cite John and Absalom Waller; Shubael Stearns; Samuel Harris; Daniel Marshall, a kinsman of the Chief Justice; James Ireland and John Leland as Baptist ministers who were well educated for their day. At least one student of Baptist history claims that Dr. Brydon scanted the persecution of their preachers by civil authorities and overemphasized their maltreatment by mobs. He would have Dr. Brydon cite specific instances of Baptist patrons being victims of mob violence.

Although this book will not receive the unqualified approval of all readers, many experienced historians would be proud to have written such an excellent and definitive volume.

CARROL H. QUENZEL

Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia

Edmund Pendleton, 1721-1803, A Biography. By DAVID J. MAYS. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1952. 2 vols. $15.

This excellent book presents a full-length biography of one of the foremost of the great Virginia statesmen of the second half of the 18th century and a readable account of his times.

Born in 1721 in what is now Caroline County, Pendleton lost his father a few months before birth, grew up in the home of a stepfather, and began to make his own way at the age of fourteen. Although without inherited wealth or formal education, he had a strong constitution, pleasing personality, and capacity for prolonged and painstaking work which soon attracted the attention of Benjamin Robinson, Clerk of Caroline County. Robinson made the promising and attractive youth his protege in 1735 and taught him law, which opened the door of opportunity and made possible his rise to prominence in aristocratic Virginia without patrimony or family connection.

Admitted to the bar in 1741, Pendleton began to practice at the General Court in Williamsburg in 1745. Six years later he became a justice of Caroline County, and the following year a member of the House of Burgesses, which he remained until the Revolution. In the House he was identified with Speaker John Robinson, whose executor he became after the Speaker's untimely death in 1766. This proved to be the most onerous job he ever undertook, but his sensitive handling of the financial intricacies of Robinson's defalcation of £100,000 of public money won him the admiration and respect of the gentry. Mr. Mays' great bibliographical discovery of lists of persons indebted to Robinson's estate enabled him to tell the story of the Robinson affair, if not definitively, at least in greater detail than before. Pendleton's role as executor and how he ultimately repayed the money to the treasury without ruining most of the Tidewater bigwigs is treated at length.

As the Revolution approached, Pendleton emerged as the champion of the Virginia conservatives who were determined to obtain home rule for the colony preferably within the framework of the British Empire but, if necessary, at the cost of a war for independence. Pendleton was a member of the Virginia Convention of 1774, a delegate to the First and Second Continental Congress, and in 1775 President of the Virginia Committee of Safety.

During this critical period, while there was still hope of reconciliation with Great Britain, Virginia continued to tread cautiously and to act with moderation. Patrick Henry and Jefferson were too rash and zealous. Pendleton was the man who best exemplified the mood of the colony. When independence seemed the only means to self-government, Pendleton himself presided over the Convention of 1776, wrote the resolution of May 15 urging the Continental Congress to declare the United Colonies free, and made possible the unanimous adoption of Mason's Virginia Declaration of Rights. Thereafter, Pendleton was replaced in the executive branch of the Commonwealth's government by men like Henry and

Jefferson, and in 1777 began his twenty-six year career as chief judge of Virginia's courts. Only once did he re-enter the hurly-burly of politics: He presided over the Virginia Convention of 1788 and exerted great influence in procuring its ratification of the Federal Constitution.

On the whole Mr. Mays has done an admirable job and has provided his book with copious notes and citations of great use to scholars. In a few places, however, he is obscure, particularly in connection with paper money and exchange rates. This fact, perhaps, serves to remind us that a thorough and lucid economic history of Virginia in the critical pre-Revolutionary years has yet to be written.

ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON

Colonial Williamsburg

George Washington (Vol. V: Victory With The Help of France). By DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN. New York: Scribner's, 1952. xvi, 570 pp. $7.50.

This volume, covering the years 1778 to 1783, deals overwhelmingly with military history, a subject in which Freeman's mastery has been long recognized. The paean of praise which greeted the preceding volumes of this biography had been marred by criticisms offered by more discerning reviewers. (Walter B. Hendrickson, " A Review of Reviews of Douglas S. Freeman's Young Washington," *Library Quarterly*, XXI [July, 1951], pp. 173-182). No such blemishes can be found in the superlative treatment of George Washington's military exploits which this latest volume offers. Throughout, as it should be, the center of attraction is Washington, and the author rarely deviates from his protagonist. All events are viewed through Washington's eyes, all issues debated and resolved as Washington considered them. Whether it be the court martial of General Charles Lee, the treason of Benedict Arnold, the subsequent trial of Major John André, the rebellion of colonial troops in Philadelphia, the military adventures of Anthony Wayne or Nathanael Greene, Freeman keeps the focus on Washington. We hear of the treaty of peace when Washington did; we learn of its contents and Washington's reactions to those contents. What emerges, then, is not only an excellent treatment of the Revolutionary War, but of the character and personality of its major American figure. This is biography at its best.

" For six years he had reluctantly to adhere to [an] enforced defensive, as the only means of avoiding . . . irretrievable defeat. Month after month, he had to resist the apostles of rash offensives, . . ." So writes Freeman in explaining the essence of Washington's strategy throughout the war. Yorktown was the result of patience, patience combined with fortitude. Patience, when officers quarreled over rank and honors, when State governments were tardy and remiss in supplying food, clothing and troop quotas, when men deserted, when currency became hopelessly

inflated, when naval support from France seemed an infinity away. If the colonials were victorious because of French help—the subtitle of this volume—the opportunity for that triumph was made possible only because of Washington's prolonged reluctance to risk a major battle at unequal odds. " In strategy, as in land speculation," writes Freeman, " Washington habitually was a bargain hunter. He always sought the largest gain for the least gore."

Painstaking and meticulous in his research, careful in his judgments, writing with assurance born of understanding and accomplishment, Freeman's fifth volume will be read with pleasure by the layman, with appreciation by the historian.

MORTON BORDEN

Hunter College

Thomas Mifflin and the Politics of the American Revolution. By KENNETH R. ROSSMAN. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1952. ix, 344 pp. $5.

Take equal parts biography and history and mix well. For basic ingredients view the stirring events of the revolutionary period from the viewpoint of Thomas Mifflin. Participate with him in the military administration of the conflict, become governor of Pennsylvania after the victory. Add for spice his acquaintance with the great names, his involvement in significant controversies, his important contributions during and after the Revloution. For Mifflin was Washington's chief supply officer, was implicated in the Conway Cabal, presided over the Continental Congress, aided in suppressing the Whiskey Rebellion. Here is a recipe capable of producing an important insight into the man and his times.

It seems to this reviewer, however, that it is not wholly successful. Perhaps the biographical and historical elements do not mix too well, for Mifflin never comes fully alive. We learn that his Quaker Meeting " read him out " when Mifflin donned the uniform of a Revolutionary officer, but we never learn what this meant to Mifflin personally. His family and personal life remain shadowy and undeveloped.

The literary style, too, bars fulfillment. This work bears the stylistic hallmark of the doctoral thesis from which it was re-written. Scholarly apparatus is largely omitted but the language of the seminar remains. At the same time the author indulges in generalizations which he might well reconsider as difficult to document (" Like so many young people in all ages, Mifflin was a radical in politics." p. 13; " But, as usual, in their well-being and safety, politicos talk a good fight." p. 93).

This remains an important book in the pictures it offers of Revolutionary military administration, federal relations and state politics. *Thomas Mifflin* is a volume for the student and the general reader; it will reward both.

HAROLD M. HYMAN

Earlham College

Yorktown. By BURKE DAVIS. New York: Rinehart, 1952. 306 pp. $3.50.

A continuation of the times evoked so vividly in *The Ragged Ones,** Mr. Davis's new book ranges from a prison ship off Long Island—from which his Sergeant Spargo escapes to join the southern campaign—to the big guns of Yorktown itself. On the whole, it is rather less expertly done. It derives much too obviously from *From Here to Eternity.* Mr. Davis's own several shining talents, the research he did in earlier preparation, and his apparent identification with the continental soldier, are more often sacrificed to a formula now. He remains unusually fast and poised. His minor characters are still excellent. His major characters even show improvement over those in *The Ragged Ones,* though the "nubile" heroine in particular is still a strictly two-dimensional stock figure. But with the historical figures, with the whole real war, he has done less well, because he is losing interest. He is gradually, understandably selling out. Another book and the scholarly magazines will not be interested in reviewing it, and Mr. Davis will not even care.

ELLEN HART SMITH

On Freedom's Altar: The Martyr Complex in the Abolition Movement. By HAZEL C. WOLF. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1952. xii, 195 pp. $3.75.

The author of this cynical little volume has gone through the published writings by and about the abolitionists and discovered that the abolitionists, or at least many of them, had a martyr complex.** The abolitionists, "eagerly bidding for a martyr's crown," hoped to advance their cause by identifying themselves with the early Christian martyrs; "all . . . welcomed persecution for its advantage to the cause of the slave." Although the author presents no brief for the persecutors of the abolitionists, it is apparent she does not like the subjects of her investigation. They were "zealots" and they frequently "fumed."

That there were abolitionists with a martyr complex and that they exploited their persecution to advance their cause should come as no surprise to students of American history. The same kind of thesis could be applied to other unpopular reform movements; the movements for woman suffrage, for socialism, for organized labor, and for peace, to mention only a few, have had in varying degrees a martyr complex. The value of this book does not lie in its thesis but in its bringing together in one volume sketches of the antislavery crusaders, both prominent and obscure. There is fresh material here on less well known figures of the movement. The notes and bibliography will be useful to future scholars, and the writing is clear and interesting.

DAVID A. SHANNON.

Teachers College,
Columbia University

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* Reviewed *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLVI (September, 1951), 224.

** See Miss Wolf's article, "An Abolition Martyrdom in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLVII (September, 1952), 224-233.

Divided We Fought: A Pictorial History of the War, 1861-1865. By H. D. Milhollen, Milton Kaplan, Hulen Stuart, and David Donald. New York: Macmillan, 1952. 464 pp. $10.

It is not surprising that some of the monumental histories of America's great internal war of 1861-65, and its finest biographies, have come to publication in recent years. For proper appraisal of its events and its heroes called for better perspective than was readily available, either north or south of the Potomac, until decades had passed and passions calmed. But photographs once made are unchangeable save by wiles which destroy their historic value, and one would be inclined to suspect that (breakage and loss and dust and moisture and carelessness considered) the photographic histories of an event so long ago would become weaker, rather than stronger. But that is before one examines a new volume, *Divided We Fought.*

Its virtues are both absolute and relative. It has no such vastness as the memorable *Photographic History of the Civil War*, printed in 1911, whose 3800 pictures called for ten bulky volumes. Desire for a single volume called for a very sharp selective process, in order to keep the total number near 500. But, admirable as were the famous photographs by Mathew Brady and his assistants, they were dominantly of the Union forces. The aim this time was to get a fair selection of pictures of Southerners as well, and while this called for a truly tremendous search through many small public and private treasuries (it is pleasant to find Maryland donors listed) it was labor well expended.

The result is a well balanced selection and, because the number of photographs and drawings (largely from the Wauds and Edwin Forbes) is moderate, the editors found it possible to employ only the best for reproductive purposes; in many cases the present reproduction is better than one's faulty recollection of originals; yet some of our very modern camera experts will on occasion be astonished at the great virtue of painstaking photographers of 80 years ago, working almost as pioneers in their craft, with equipment which some of the moderns would hoot at, and under conditions which only the hardiest would accept.

The pictures have great merit, in pictorial quality and in their diversity, touching many, many phases of the great war. They are well supported by the fluent text of David Donald, of Columbia University, who manages to link together this long flow of pictures with a lively explanation of men and events they portray.

Mark S. Watson

The Northern Railroads in the Civil War. By THOMAS WEBER. New York: King's Crown Press, 1952. 318 pp. $4.

The 1850s were a period of great railroad expansion. A decade that began with only 8,000 miles of rails in the entire United States ended with 30,000. Of the total increase, 15,000 miles were north of the Ohio River, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois leading all states. In view of the great importance that the rail system was to the Federal government in transporting men and supplies, it is not strange that it has been claimed that the North could not have won the war if it had come ten years earlier.

Some general accounts of the war scarcely mention the great feats performed by the railroads and the men who directed them; others note them briefly. In Mr. Weber's book we have for the first time the important story interestingly and adequately told, well documented by abundant references to railroad reports, railroad periodicals, newspapers, and official reports, as well as to writers who have treated certain phases of the question.

The book does much more than relate what railroads, and railroaders like Thomas A. Scott, Herman Haupt, John W. Garrett, Samuel M. Felton, Daniel C. McCallum, and many others did to bring victory to the North. It tells much about the railroads themselves, their varying gauges that caused so much trouble, their equipment, terminal facilities, and other matters of interest to railroad enthusiasts. It also discusses the important question of the effect of the war on the railroads. A good map showing the network of railroads at the time of the war would have been a valuable addition to the work, but none is given.

KENNETH P. WILLIAMS

Indiana University

Benjamin Harrison: Hoosier Warrior, 1833-1865. By HENRY J. SIEVERS, S. J. Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1952. xxi, 344 pp. $5.

One of the most widely used text books in the field of American history discusses the subject of this biography in part as follows: "Benjamin Harrison, grandson of the hero of Tippecanoe, was an Indiana lawyer who made a dignified figurehead in the Presidency from 1889 to 1893. Aloof and aristocratic, honest and conscientious, he lacked the insight to comprehend the economic and imperialistic problems of a new day and the ability to control the spoilsmen of his party. Despite his character and attainments he made singularly little impression upon his own or later generations."

This analysis represents the prevailing view of Benjamin Harrison. The author has assumed the burden of transforming his subject from a figurehead into a human being. In the first volume, of what will most likely be the definitive life of Benjamin Harrison, he has admirably accomplished his purpose. However, the second volume which is now

being prepared will finally determine whether Father Sievers can succeed in altering the verdict of history.

This volume carries Harrison from his birth in Ohio, through a happy childhood, an education at Farmer's College and Miami University, to his marriage, his career in the law and Indiana politics and finally as a gallant officer serving chiefly with "The Seventieth Indiana" during the Civil War. The author has examined a prodigous amount of source material; he provides the reader with necessary background information, but he never loses sight of his subject. His balance is excellent.

More than half the book is devoted to the Civil War period. While no new insights are presented, the author gives a good account of the war as Harrison viewed it. Since Harrison was in the thick of several western campaigns, the reader gets a detailed picture of the fighting in and around Atlanta and Nashville. His grandfather, William Henry Harrison, ninth president of the United States, made a reputation as an outstanding military figure. Yet, as Father Sievers writes, "In less than a month Benjamin Harrison was destined to engage in more battles than either William Henry Harrison . . . or Andrew Jackson, had fought in a lifetime."

Harrison emerged from the war a devoted family man, deeply religious, an ardent Republican politician; however, he was all of these before the war. Devoted to his country and his party, he volunteered for service and proved that he was an able leader of men. The Civil War gave Benjamin Harrison his political opportunity; his name became widely known in Indiana; his star was ascending. This is where the author leaves him at the conclusion of his first volume.

RICHARD LOWITT

University of Maryland

Veterans in Politics, The Story of the G. A. R. By MARY R. DEARING. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1952. x, 523 pp. $6.

Among the pressure groups of the 19th century, the Grand Army of the Republic stands out as one of the most effective and colorful. In this scholarly work, Mary Dearing traces the rise and achievements of this organization which had such tremendous impact upon politics, public opinion, and legislative bodies. In spite of incomplete G. A. R. records, the author succeeded in assembling from other sources the necessary data to write a well documented book. Perhaps the footnotes are unnecessarily elaborate; and possibly a more discriminating eye toward the elimination and condensation of some of the details would have made the story move more smoothly without detracting in any way from the scholarship of an otherwise splendid volume.

The Civil War was not long in progress when both political parties became interested in the soldiers' vote, but the advantage lay with the Republicans, and in the decades that followed this party continued to

exercise a controlling influence over the veterans. Unemployment, public apathy and the plight of the disabled soldiers were among the factors which caused the veterans to organize in the post-Civil War years. Emerging as the most important of the veteran organizations, the Grand Army became a political force; and even while pretending non-partianship, it swung its weight in elections and in lobbying for bounty-equalization, pensions, and preferential treatment in the appointment to government jobs. In wringing from Congress pensions for veterans, the G. A. R. enjoyed phenomenal success. As the society waxed stronger, it became imbued with a patriotic ardor which at times bordered on jingoism. In conducting crusades for the inculcation of patriotism, Grand Army posts concerned themselves with the "loyalty" aspect of text books, while urging flag exercises and military intruction in the schools. Toward the Confederate veterans the G. A. R. remained uncompromisingly hostile; and toward foreign immigration and labor strikes it was consistently unsympathetic. Nationalistic to the core, the society grew more and more conservative. After 1890 its power began to wane. The record of this highly effective pressure group may not be very inspiring, but it is interesting and significant, and the whole story is painstakingly told by the author with absolute impartiality.

ALMONT LINDSEY

Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia

Papermaking in Pioneer America. By DARD HUNTER. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1952. $6.50.

This volume comprises the lectures delivered by the author as holder of the Rosenbach Fellowship in Bibliography in 1949. According to the author, the lectures represent an elaboration of the materials published in the limited edition volume, *Papermaking by Hand in America* (1951) which covered the period 1690 to 1811. Two introductory chapters sketch briefly the historical beginnings of papermaking in the Orient and Occident and describe the method of making the somewhat misnamed "hand-made" paper as practiced at the early paper mills in this country. The forming of the sheets from pulp with the aid of moulds was a manual operation. The preparation of the pulp from rags by a grinding and macerating operation was performed by power-driven machinery. The descriptions of the equipment and processes employed in the early paper mills is of particular value to the student of industry and technology, especially since they come from one who has himself engaged in the manufacture of paper by the older processes.

The eighteen chapters which follow describe in somewhat repetitive detail the establishment of the "first" paper mills—and usually the first mill only—in nineteen colonies and states. These accounts are based upon careful research, somewhat less carefully documented, and doubtless

exhaust a subject which, from the manner of treatment, will have greater interest for antiquarians than historians. The volume concludes with interesting chapters on a pioneer mould-maker and a list of American paper-makers, 1690-1817. There are two illustrations taken from the author's paper mill and photographs of some twenty early paper water marks.

LOUIS C. HUNTER

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

Sir William Osler, Historian and Literary Essayist. By WILLIAM WHITE. Detroit: Wayne Univ. Press, 1951. 31 pp.

As one of the "Big Four" of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, Sir William Osler is known to Baltimoreans and to much of the world as a great man of medicine. The purpose of this booklet is, as the title implies, to show Osler as something more—historian and writer. It shows facets that should be better known of a man already famous in his field. With its many quotations from the subject's writings, this biographical essay does just what such a piece should do; it makes the reader eager to look more deeply into the man and his works.

The New Dictionary of American History. By MICHAEL MARTIN and LEONARD GELBER. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. vi, 695 pp. $10.

This one volume dictionary of American history does not supplant the older multi-volumed sets, but owning the *Dictionary of American History* (1940), 6 vols., and the *Dictionary of American Biography* (1936), 20 vols., has never been practical for the individual interested in history. The *New Dictionary* combines the biographical information of *DAB* and historical facts of *DAH*, though the entries cannot, of necessity, be either as numerous or detailed. No bibliographical information is supplied, but enough essential data is given for purposes of identification. The coverage is well balanced between biography and history and reflects a changing concept of historical subject matter in the past decade, for more attention is given to leaders in the fields of industry, science, business, and social welfare than in the older dictionaries. In addition, the authors have brought new information together which is not in the *DAH* or *DAB*. Men of current importance are included, as well as new agencies and historical data. With considerable imagination, the authors have also listed historical colloquialisms and catch-words, such as "big-stick," "return to normalcy," and "court-packing plan."

As far as Maryland is concerned, there is a judicious statement about the Toleration Act and other contributions of Maryland to national history.

Biographically, entries range from the more conspicuous figures such as the Calverts, Carrolls, and Luther Martin to the lesser-known Christopher Gist, Robert Goodloe Harper, and Louis McLane (misspelled McClane). All in all, the *New Dictionary* provides a useful handbook of historical information at a modest cost.

F. C. H.

Garner-Keene Families of Northern Neck Virginia. By Ruth Ritchie and Sudie Rucker Wood. [Charlottesville, 1952.] viii, 241 pp.

An outstanding feature of this book is the abundance of documentary evidence which the authors have been able to gather from the past in support of their statement of the facts of record and of their conclusions as to a few not documented.

The compilation of this genealogical material was necessarily dependent on numerous contributors, professional and non-professional, whose names, with their several post-office addresses, are mentioned in the "Preface" which thereby offers a convenient way for communication between the interested inquirer and the person or persons who may be able to answer queries.

We do not approve fulsome praise in respect of any literary production, for it is likely to arouse unfavorable suspicion as to the critic's sincerity or "good taste." Generally speaking, nevertheless, this book is practically flawless in respect of the accuracy of the contents, the orderly arrangement of the material offered to the reader and the clean-cut beauty of the type selected by the printer which may well be regarded as a model of the "printer's art and mystery." The authors "speak to us in English," for "they write it right."

Francis Barnum Culver

The Ligon Family and Connections. By William D. Ligon, Jr., New York, 1947. xxix, 943 pp.

This is a large handsome volume containing the genealogy of the Ligon family in England and in America. The English origins of the family do not lack in interest, but many readers may find the story of the family in Henrico Co., Virginia (beginning on page 306) of more direct concern and value. Later generations, of course, have scattered throughout the country.

It is apparent that the compiler put much time and effort into the preparation of this genealogy. Conscientious effort has been made, it is obvious, to document carefully each fact and statement. Finally the volume is to be praised for a copious index covering more than seventy pages.

Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, Maryland. 2d ed. Baltimore, Southern Book Co., 1952. 189 pp. $7.50.

Here is a reprint that will be welcomed by many persons interested in the Free State. For years out of print, the 1790 census for Maryland has long been an invaluable reference tool for genealogists. Now dog-eared library copies can be replaced, and students who wish to own their own copies may do so. The original edition with its copious index has been faithfully reproduced.

Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, Records of the State Enumerations: 1782 to 1785, Virginia. 2d ed. Baltimore, Southern Book Co., 1952. 189 pp. $7.50.

The Chesapeake and the Potomac long served as connecting highways between Maryland and Virginia. Residents of these sister states crossed and recrossed on the watery highways, intermarried, traded, visited. Thus these records of Virginia, the equivalent of the 1790 census records, are of only slightly less interest than those of our own state. This reprint, faithful to the original edition including index, is sure to be welcomed by many in Maryland as well as elsewhere.

Records of the Special Committee of the Senate to Investigate the National Defense Program, 1941-48. By HAROLD E. HUFFOLD and TOUSSAINT L. PRINCE. Washington: National Archives, 1952. 227 pp.

Private Citizen Harry Truman has returned to Missouri and the tumult concerning his eight-year stewardship in the White House begins to subside. In some future day a scholar will sit alone with the documents that tell the story of his rise to the highest office in the land. Chief among those documents will surely be the records described in this, the forty-eighth "preliminary" inventory issued by the National Archives. More, however, than the story of Senator Truman will be found in these records, for the Committee reviewed many non-military phases of World War II. It can safely be predicted that each searcher will find the records, like this inventory, carefully and meticulously organized in the non-partisan tradition of a great national institution.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Colonial Placer Mining in Colombia. By ROBERT C. WEST. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1952. 157 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

JANE FRAZIER, ALLEGANY COUNTY HEROINE

By Ruth Averill Clauson

Just beyond the southeastern city limits of Cumberland, on the Oldtown Road, stands the weathered "Jane Frazier House." * A Maryland State Roads Commission tablet mentions that from a spot nearby Jane Frazier was captured by the Indians in October, 1755. Torn clapboard sheeting on the east wing of the house reveals rough hewn logs of such size that they have weathered well the two hundred years since John Frazier cut them from virgin timber when he built this sturdy home for his bride, Jane, in 1754.

John Frazier came from Scotland to Pennsylvania. He lived in Venango and Turtle Creek, a gunsmith, hunter, and trader. Fluent in both English and French, having broad knowledge of woodcraft, and skill in disguising himself, Frazier made an excellent guide and interpreter for Colonel Washington who employed him on the trip made to Fort Duquesne as an emissary of Governor Dinwiddie. But when the French gained control of what is now the Pittsburgh area Frazier withdrew to Winchester, Virginia.

There he met the attractive young widow, Jane McLane, a native of Winchester, born in 1735 Jane (or Jean) Bell. When sixteen she had married a young British officer who died shortly thereafter. John Frazier and Jane Bell McLane were married in 1754 and set out to settle near Fort Cumberland, in Maryland.

After building a log dwelling on a site near Evitts Creek, not far from the Fort, John decided to erect a shop for his gunsmithery. His neighbors gathered in October, 1755, to help him. After Jane Frazier had served dinner and the builders were again at work, she asked to take the Frazier hired man and horses to buy supplies at the storehouse at Fort Cumberland. Scarcely out of sight of her home, she was attacked by a group of Indians who killed and scalped her attendant, then hurried away with Jane and her horse.

The trip westward was tortuous and gruelling; at times as much as thirty hours passed without food. But Jane said the Indians were kind and let her ride her horse; they protected her, too, from other Indians

* Miss Clauson, local historian, published an article about the Jane Frazier house in the Cumberland *Sunday Times*, March 10, 1946.

encountered during the three weeks' journey. The return of the raiders to their village on the Great Miami River in Ohio with the white woman captive caused great excitement. A Council was held and Jane was adopted into a tribal family. They too were kind, caring for her when her child was born about a month after her arrival, and making a little coffin for him when he died.

Jane remained with the Indians over a year. She helped the women to plant corn and cook, learned their ways and taught them hers, learned their language and told them stories from the Bible. During this period she witnessed preparations for another raid, the collection of food for those who remained at home, pow-pows and war dances to insure the success of the undertaking. The Indians brought back a Pennsylvania tanner and his son whom they adopted and assigned to tan skins. When preparations for a third raid were being made Jane and the two tanners escaped amid the hysterical excitement.

The three traveled together for a week, then Jane fearing capture went on alone, living on what vegetation she could find, climbing into trees or sleeping in hollows at night. After eleven days she came to a trail which led her to Oldtown. There she found friends. She learned that her husband, after searching and mourning for her for months, had concluded she was dead. He had married a neighbor girl and they lived in his house. The friends suggested she stay with them, saying they would get her nice clothes, put her on a horse and take her to her husband in triumph, for they felt sure John Frazier would rejoice at her return.

The next morning a procession formed: fifty men, women and children, carrying two flags, singing and blowing horns; dogs barking; surprised neighbors along the way joining the gay party. The center of the procession was Jane Frazier, her hazardous journey forgotten perhaps after one night's rest, so happy that in her own words she felt like she "wanted to fly." John Frazier heard the approach of the party. His delight at the return of his wife was boundless as he snatched her from the horse, shouting, "The lost is found; the dead is alive."

Frazier descendants say that the second wife withdrew from the home, but when her child was born she brought him to Jane, threw him in her lap saying that she wanted none of him, and that Jane received the child willingly, reared him and loved him as her own.

The reunited Fraziers added to their farm from the wilderness. Two daughters were born to them and they were prosperous and happy. But all the while John was in touch with military activities of the locality. In 1758 came a letter from Colonel Washington, and when that same year Virginia troops under Washington and Burd marched north to join detachments of General Forbes' Army at Raystown, Frazier, his wife, two daughters and the boy went with the expedition. The family did not return to Maryland. Further mention of them must be sought in the archives and traditions of Bedford County, Pennsylvania.

But the memory of Jane Frazier lingers on in Allegany County. Within the last few years Jane Frazier Village, a section of low rental homes has

been built. It is a pleasant village. The old house, shabby and in need of restoration is still occupied. The west wing added long after the Fraziers' trek to Bedford, said to have been built from material salvaged from canal boats when the C & O Canal flourished, appears more in need of repairs than the sturdy log wing. If the State of Maryland acquires the land necessary to enable the Federal Government to build the Potomac River Parkway on the old C & O Canal right-of-way, a natural consequence would be that the " Jane Frazier House " should be restored. However, dilapidated or restored, the old house shelters the story of Jane Frazier, a favorite among the many historical legends centering around Cumberland, Maryland's " Gateway to the West."

Two Prince George's Co. Houses—Two more of Maryland's very early structures have perished in recent months with the demolition of " Elverton Hall " and " The Robert Bowie House," the latter perhaps better known as " The Cedars." The Historic American Buildings Survey saw fit to record both of these homes of Prince George's Co. and photographs of the two in recent years are also on file with the Society. " The Robert Bowie House " had been ruinous for a generation, but even in its declining years it remained a point of attention for architects and antiquarians for its notable lines and proportions. It was no doubt the oldest building in Nottingham and considering its historical background it seems the more regrettable that disinterest finally brought about its end. This was a frame building whereas " Elverton Hall " was brick and, typical of its era (possibly built as early as 1742 or as late as 1805), very massive and substantial brick. Its end seems to have started a half-dozen years ago, according to local residents of the Mitchellville area, when one corner was accidentally blown out by careless dynamiting of nearby tree stumps. A number of builders are alleged to have cast doubt on repair possibilities. In more recent months a serious bow developed in the opposite gable end and a new owner of less appreciative instincts set off a tremendous charge of dynamite, reducing the bulk of the structure to a pile of rubble. In the Fall of 1952 a few interior walls still stood and the notable boxed stairway, or curvilinear wooden arches, and round-head transoms were exposed to the elements to rot away until the site is cleared for a new modern home. Thus two more old houses are memories and two more bonds between the 20th and 18th centuries are irretrievably lost.

James C. Wilfong, Jr.
4889 Queen's Chapel Terrace, N. W.,
Washington 17, D. C.

Guano Trade—Wanted for book in preparation letters, ship logs, transactions, ledgers, etc. Baltimore guano trade 1850s through 1890s. Anything on Peter Duncan, E. K. or E. O. Cooper, Kimball, W. T. Kendall, and other Baltimore sea captains and guano islands they discovered in Caribbean and Mexican Gulf. Also identity and logs of guano ships from Peru and personalia about Filipe and Frederick Barreda, John de Barril, and other guano dealers and their transactions. Particularly interested in material on Navassa Island and operations there of John C. Grafflin and Navassa Phosphate Co., including 1889 riot, Baltimore trials of rioters and fate of convicted men. Will use carefully, bear expenses, and give credit. Arrange through H. R. Manakee of Society staff.

Harman Family—The Second Reunion of the Elk Ridge Family Association will be held at the Wesley Grove Methodist Church, Harmans, June 21, at 11:00 A. M. Interested persons should address Mr. Philip S. Harman, President, Elkridge, or Mr. W. Gray Harman, Historian, 815 First Place, Plainfield, N. J.

Headington—Would appreciate any information whatever on any member of the Headington family prior to 1768. All that is known is that James Headington was in Baltimore County 1704 and that he was paid for a day's work there in 1703.

C. E. HEADINGTON
525 County Club Lane, Havertown, Pa.

McAtee—Brawner—About 1788 George McAtee of Montgomery (later Frederick) Co., m. Elizabeth Brawner and lived near Emmitsburg. Here dau. Elizabeth was born 1790 and dau. Lucy about 1793. Their mother dying before 1799 (when George McAtee m. Mary Hardy as 2d wife), Lucy lived with her grandmother Brawner. Was Elizabeth Brawner McAtee the daughter Elizabeth named in his will by Edward Brawner (1715-1760) of Frederick Co.? Will pay $10 for first positive identification together with documentary or other proof of this marriage.

(MRS.) MARGARET S. WARD
15 Stout St., Oil City, Pa.

Springfield Farm—Mrs. Mish asks that the following corrections in her article (December, 1952) be noted for permanent record: Footnote 1 (line 12) should read "Mrs. Estep Tilliard Gott . . ."; footnote 3 should read "Liber L G No. C, 56"; footnotes 4 and 5 should be reversed;

present footnote 5 should read "Survey, May 6, 1737, Prince George's Co., unpatented certificate, Env. 143, Land Office, Annapolis"; footnote 43 should read "Jan. 20, 1787 . . ."; and footnote 76 should read "Deed Book IN 17, fol. 652, Washington Co., May 24, 1864."

Tuell (Toole, Tull)—Tiernan—Need family data and ancestors of Elenor Tiernan who m. Thomas Glisson. Also data about Catherine (Tuell) Tiernan, Elenor's mother. Both of Prince George's Co. in 1700s.

ELDON B. TUCKER, JR., M. D.
349 Cobun Ave., Morgantown, W. Va.

Tulip Hill—The fine photographs used to illustrate Mr. Leisenring's article about Tulip Hill in the September, 1952, issue were taken by Mr. Thomas H. Scott, 919 15th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. The editors are pleased to pay tribute to the excellence of Mr. Scott's photography.

Wherrett—Wish to learn names, birth and death dates of parents and forbears of James H. Wherrett, Chesapeake Bay pilot, born St. Mary's Co. about 1797, m. Mary Zachery of Baltimore in 1833, d. in Baltimore, July 13, 1851.

W. NORMAN WHERRETT
2920 Harrison St., Wilmington, Del.

Tyler, Robert C.—Need to know exact place and exact date of birth of General Tyler, last Confederate General to be killed in action. Also what is his middle name, where was he educated, when did he move to Tennessee, and what did he do in Baltimore?

EZRA J. WARNER
Box 1157, Douglas, Ariz.

Back Issues—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. DeConde, of the Duke University faculty, who has carefully studied Murray and early Federal diplomacy, published a volume on modern diplomacy entitled, *Herbert Hoover's Latin American Policy,* in 1951. ☆ Long associated with the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Mr. Ross is now Chief Curator of Art, Los Angeles County Museum. ☆ Mr. Scarff, well-known Baltimore architect, has long been interested in the old homes of Maryland. He is a member of the Council of the Maryland Historical Society and Executive Secretary of the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities.

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Wye House, Home of the Lloyds
Talbot County

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

June · 1953

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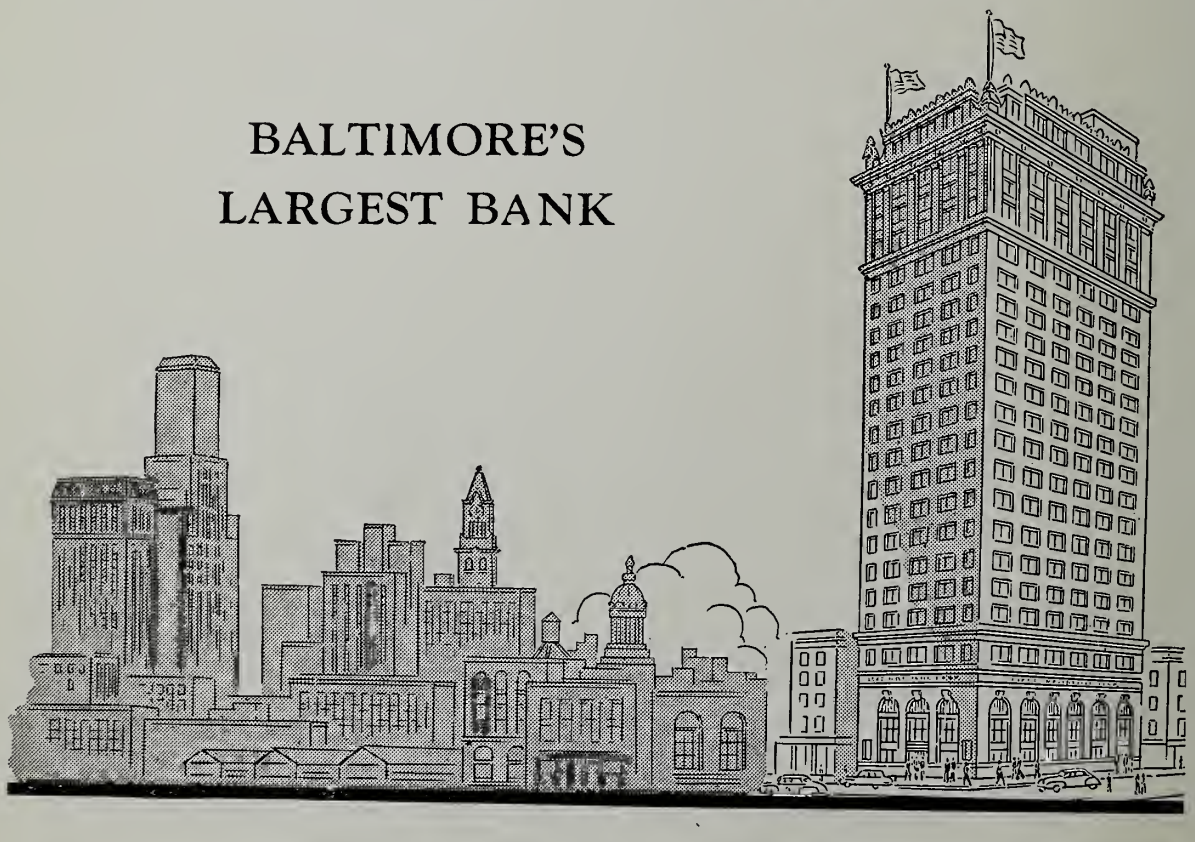

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor* FRANCIS C. HABER, *Associate Editor*

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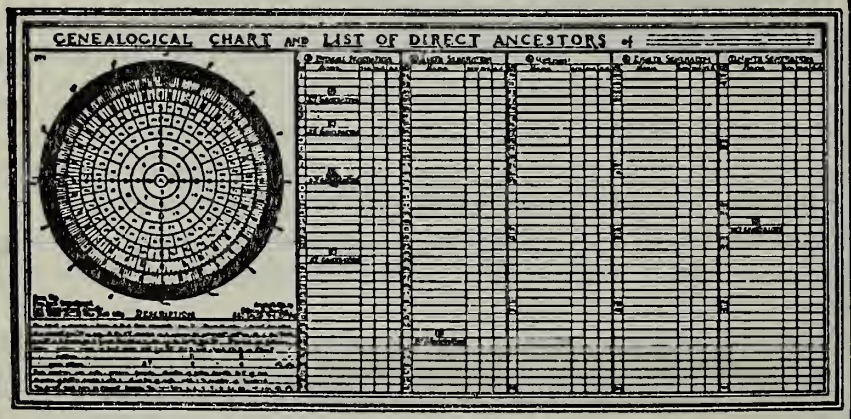

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLVIII JUNE, 1953 Number 2

WYE HOUSE

By J. Donnell Tilghman

WYE House, in Talbot County, is outstanding among the old estates of Maryland and perhaps of the nation.[1] There are colonial and early Federal houses of greater beauty and better architectural design. There are old gardens more extensive and more imposing. There are families who have served their states and their country in higher and more important offices than those held by succeeding generations of the Lloyds. But in no other colonial residence in Maryland are these qualities combined in so great a degree as at Wye House. In addition, there are other distinctions. The orangerie is the only one left in the upper South, and there are few places that have been the home of one family for ten generations, only a few years short of three centuries.

The house is located some distance back from the southern

[1] Two articles concerning Wye House have appeared previously in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Both were written by McHenry Howard: "Lloyd Graveyard at Wye House, Talbot County, Maryland," XVII (1922), 20-33, and "Wye House, Talbot County, Maryland," XVIII (1923), 293-299.

branch of Wye River on a cove now silting up, but which, originally, must have provided excellent harbor. The location, like that of most early tidewater houses, was determined by good anchorage and accessibility by water.

Today, of course, as through certainly half of its history, Wye House is approached from the land side. The entrance, known to generations of the Lloyd family as the " top road gate," is one half mile from the house. The high, wrought iron gates, erected in 1929, were made at Lenno on Lake Como in Italy. A double avenue frames a vista of the distant portico. The inner rows of trees are oaks and beeches, symmetrically planted. The two outer rows are a dense growth of cedars, hollys, and the deciduous trees that spring up along every Maryland fencerow.

About three hundred yards from the house the road divides to enclose a long, oval pasture. The two branches cross a ha-ha and meet in a formal circle on the lawn at the south front of the house.

In plan, the clapboarded house is typical of the Maryland colonial dwelling of central pavilion with two lower, symmetrical wings. Wye House is unusual in that main house and the pavilions of both wings have low, gabled roofs presenting pediments, of classic proportion, to the front. The connecting links are typically low. Each wing ends in a still lower, hipped roof addition whose ridge pole parallels the long axis of the house. The whole building presents a symmetrical, balanced mass of unusually fine proportions.

On the other side, of the house, a wide veranda crosses the entire north front of the main pavilion and overlooks a rectangular lawn, or bowling green, at whose far end stands the orangerie. Box hedges, backed by high shrubs and trees, flank the bowling green and behind these, to either side and extending beyond the orangerie, lie the formal gardens and the family graveyard.

Midway between the house and the orangerie, the garden is crossed by a path which forms the minor axis of the landscape scheme. The gate at the east end of this walk centers on a sunken spot in the ground which marks the location of the older Wye House. Until it was filled, in the early years of this century, this depression was identifiable as a cellar hole and in spots the bricks of the foundation walls were still visible.

A few feet to the north stands a small, story and a half house of whitewashed brick. Though known for many generations as the

" Captain's House," since it was the dwelling, during most of the 19th century, of the master of the Wye House sailing vessel, it is actually the north " wing " of the old house. That this was a free standing dependency is evidenced by the fact that the gable end shows no trace of either bricked up door nor the walls and roof of any connecting passage. There is a possibility, which could be checked by excavation, that there was a balancing dependency to the south.

The main house of this group appears to have been standing as early as 1685. An inventory of that date of the estate of Col. Philemon Lloyd lists the following rooms: hall, upper chamber, blue chamber, study chamber, back chamber, Madam Lloyd's room, nursery, kitchen, kitchen loft, linen closet, and store.[2] This suggests that the main house may have been of two full stories or that there was, at that time, a south dependency balancing the present Captain's House.

The extensive Lloyd papers, recently deposited with the Society and with the Talbot County Library, may eventually, when given thorough study, give a complete and accurate story. Until evidence to the contrary is found, one may safely accept the family tradition that the Captain's House is the earliest structure. This is well borne out by the architectural design. Though the interior trim and mantels are obviously of later date than the walls, the steep roof and the massive north chimney suggest a building that may well be among the oldest still standing in the state. This chimney, with its ornamental bands and its brick pilaster, has few counterparts in Maryland and strongly suggests the influence of Jacobean models in England. A small brick addition to this end of the house was evidently erected in the 19th century.

The records of Talbot County show that court was held in June of 1663 at the house of Edward Lloyd.[3] It is quite possible that that court was held in this building, since there is neither evidence nor tradition suggesting that Edward Lloyd ever lived on any of his other Talbot County lands.

Edward Lloyd, the first of his name in Maryland, had been a settler in Virginia as early as 1636 and served, at one time, as

[2] Inventories and Accounts 8, f. 398-406; Inventories and Accounts 9, f. 244, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[3] Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), I, 142.

Burgess from Lower Norfolk County.[4] He was one of the religious non-conformists who underwent minor persecution in that colony and took a leading part in the emigration, in 1650, of the Virginia Puritans to Lord Baltimore's more tolerant Proprietary. He settled in Anne Arundel County and immediately began to play an important role in the affairs of Maryland. As early as 1654 he was a member of the General Assembly, thereby starting a tradition in the Lloyd family. For two and a half centuries, each succeeding owner of Wye House served in either colonial, state, or national legislative bodies and held many other military and civil offices. This first Edward Lloyd was also Commander of Anne Arundel County, Commissioner to the Susquehanna Indians, Burgess for Anne Arundel County and Member of Council. He was appointed commissioner in 1663 to confer with Virginia commissioners with regard to a cessation of tobacco planting.

He acquired much land, by patent and purchase, in both Anne Arundel and Talbot Counties. The bulk of his holdings were in Talbot, a fact which probably influenced his move to that county. In 1658 he acquired, by patent, six hundred acres, called " Linton," on the shores of Wye River. He shortly purchased one hundred and fifty acres adjoining on the west and called " The Grange." Wye House and its gardens are, as far as can be determined, close to the boundary of these two tracts.[5] Edward Lloyd could therefore have taken up residence here as early as 1660. He remained here only a short time and returned to England in 1668, leaving his Maryland plantations and affairs in the hands of his twenty-two year old son, Philemon.

Philemon Lloyd, a year earlier, had been commissioned Captain commanding the horse in Chester and Wye Rivers and was later commissioned colonel. He was a member of the Quorum of Talbot County, represented Talbot in the General Assembly and was speaker of the lower house from 1678 to 1685. In 1682 he was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with the northern Indians at Fort Albany. He married, in 1668 or 1669, Henrietta

[4] For genealogy of Lloyd family, see Christopher Johnston, " Lloyd Family," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VII (1912), 420-430; Oswald Tilghman, " Lloyd Family," *ibid.*, VIII (1913), 85-87; George A. Hanson, *Old Kent* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 28 *et seq.* The owners of Wye House are treated at some length in Tilghman, *Talbot County*, I, 132-228.

[5] Howard, " Wye House," *op. cit.*, p. 293.

Maria, widow of Richard Bennett and daughter of Captain James Neale and Anne Gill.[6]

Philemon Lloyd never succeeded to the ownership of Wye House as his death occurred in 1685, some years before that of his father, Edward. His widow, Henrietta Maria Lloyd, continued to reside at Wye House until her death in 1697.

When Edward Lloyd died in London, in 1696, he willed Wye House to his oldest grandson, Edward son of Philemon. From then, until a few decades ago, Wye House has been owned by a succession of Edward Lloyds. Many writers, for sake of brevity or clarity, have fallen into the habit of referring to these men as Edward II or IV, as though they had been kings instead of planters. But their descendants have always referred to them in simpler and more familiar terms, identifying them by their military or civil titles or, more usually, by their wives; " the Edward who married Elizabeth Tayloe," or, " the one who married Alicia McBlair."

The second Edward to own Wye House married Sarah Covington in 1703. He was a justice of Talbot County and member of Assembly. He was appointed member of Council in 1701 and was President of Council at the death of Governor John Seymour. He

[6] Henrietta Maria Lloyd is perhaps better known to Marylanders of today than any of the men of the Lloyd family, no matter how important their services to the country may have been. She probably vies with Mistress Margaret Brent for the distinction of being the most famous woman of early Maryland. According to tradition she was named for Queen Henrietta Maria who was, it is claimed, her godmother. The descendants of Henrietta Maria Lloyd appear to be exceptionally numerous, a thing explained by the fact that any one descended from her knows it, no matter how ignorant he or she may be of the rest of their ancestors, and claims that descent with intense pride. This pride cannot be explained by the usual reasons for there is no record that this woman accomplished anything unusual for one of her time and position. Nor is there any tradition that she did among her descendants (of whom this writer is, as proudly as the rest, one). In all probability, Henrietta Maria Lloyd was a woman of such outstanding virtues, of such graciousness and generosity, such charm, intelligence and warmth, that she was greatly beloved during her life. Her memory must have persisted vividly. Grandchildren who had known her told of her to great grandchildren born after her death and in a generation or two she became the beautiful and romantic legend she remains today. The epitaph on her handsomely carved tomb at Wye House seems to bear out this explanation of her fame.

" Shee that now takes her Rest within this t[omb]
had Rachell's face and Lea's fruitefu[ll womb]
Abigall's wisdom Lydea's faithfu[ll heart]
with Martha's care and Mary's be[tter part]
Who died the 21st day of M [ ]
Dom 1697 Aged 50 years [ ]
Months 23 dayes
To whose memory Richard [Bennett]
Dedicates this tom[b] "

was, therefore, acting governor of the colony until the arrival of Governor John Hart in 1714. In the provincial militia he held the unusual rank of major general.

When Maj. Gen. Edward Lloyd died, in March, 1718/9, his sons were still children. His young widow was married, in 1721, to James Hollyday. Family records show that the Hollydays lived at Wye House until the next Edward Lloyd attained his majority. James and Sarah Hollyday then moved to Queen Anne's County and were the builders there of Readbourne.[7]

This Edward Lloyd married Anne Rousby. He represented Talbot County in the Assembly and was later member of Council and Agent and Receiver General of the Province. When he died in 1770, Wye House was inherited by his eldest son, Edward, the builder of the present dwelling.

Though little is now known about the older house, which had been the home of five generations, family papers reveal a great deal about the life lived in it. Letters, inventories, copies of orders on London agents, bills and account books, all of them still to be carefully studied, indicate that there is considerable foundation for the popular, romantic ideas about life on the great colonial plantations of Maryland. The basis of the family wealth was, of course, land and tobacco. The land was counted in many thousands of acres and the great tobacco crop was shipped direct to London in a private cargo vessel which returned to Wye River laden with goods ordered by the Lloyds and, frequently, by their friends and relatives on neighboring plantations. London agents purchased for them books, clothes, china, silver, linen, and household furnishings, all in the latest styles. Seeds and plants were imported, as were carriages and agricultural implements.

In addition to the cargo vessel, the family maintained a private yacht which was doubtless used primarily for travel rather than as a pleasure craft.[8] The sailing vessel was maintained until well past the middle of the 19th century.[9] There is, also, at Wye House, as at many other old Eastern Shore houses, the tradition of the open boat, rowed by several negro servants, which was used for

[7] For an account of this house see Thomas T. Waterman, "Readbourne, Queen Anne's County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV (1950), 95-103.

[8] Howard, "Wye House," *op. cit.*, p. 295.

[9] Alicia Lloyd (Mrs. T. Harrison Oliver, 1855-1942) recalled trips, as a child, to Annapolis and Baltimore on the family schooner.

local travel and visiting.[10] Within a few miles by water, on Wye and Miles Rivers and Eastern Bay, stood many other plantation houses. Most of them were inhabited by cousins of the Lloyds and the bonds of kinship were strong. Letters show that in spite of what we today consider the difficulties of early travel, the social life of the Eastern Shore tidewater counties was just as full of visiting and entertainments as it is in an age of automobiles and hard-surfaced roads, of power cruisers and outboard motors.

The house that was the focus of this life must, from its early date, have been a relatively simple one. But the gardens which it overlooked were more in keeping. It is not known by whom or at what date these gardens were laid out. That they antedate the present house is certain. The landscape scheme, considered from the point of view of the original house is a balanced and symmetrical one. Considered from the existing house, it is neither. The location of the old main house centers on one axis of the gardens whereas the present house is not only many feet off the other axis but also at a distinct angle, a discrepancy too great to have been an error in the laying out of the grounds or in the locating of the dwelling.[11]

Consider the present cross axis of the garden as the main axis and the old scheme immediately reveals itself. The old house faced east towards the now silted up cove and west across a rectangular lawn. In the far right hand corner of this lawn, facing south, stood the orangerie. From its far back corner ran a high brick wall, still in existence, which formed the northern boundary of the gardens.

One may assume the possibility of a balancing building, facing north, in the left corner of the lawn and another brick wall forming the south boundary. Both walls ended at the deep ditch, still in existence, which formed the west boundary and an invisible barrier, like a ha-ha, against stock grazing in the fields beyond. The space between the walls appears to have been divided into long rectangles enclosed by box hedges. Four of these still exist and there may well have been two more to the east of them. The

[10] Charles Howard Lloyd (1859-1929) recalled that one of these boats, falling into decay, was drawn up on the shore at Wye House during his boyhood. He described it as a large, round bottom rowboat, similar to a Coast Guard long boat.

[11] A sketch plan of the gardens, which, among other less important inaccuracies, fails to show the crooked position of the house in the landscape scheme, can be found in *Landscape Architecture* (January, 1933), p. 119.

path dividing them through the center is the cross axis of the present garden but was the main axis of the old and centers on the site of the original main house.

If the box hedges of the west end of the garden were kept trimmed and low, as probably they were, from the old house one could have looked across them to the wide sweep of Shaws Bay and the mouth of Wye River. Today that view is almost completely obscured, not only by the high shrubbery of the garden but also by trees along several fencerows and along the shore of the river.

There is considerable evidence of the former existence of a dependency balancing the orangerie and of the wall extending from it. When plumbing was installed in the early years of this century, traces of foundation walls were encountered in digging trenches for pipes just north of the west wing of the existing house. Unfortunately, no note was made of their location. In recent months, remains of a wide area of brick paving have been discovered just a few inches below the surface of the ground at the south of the house. Quite possibly, the former building was a stable and coach house, the brick paving its yard or court. Whatever building stood here would have been torn down to make way for the dwelling of today.

The reasons for the present house being off axis and located at a slight angle to the gardens are obscure if not actually mysterious. The only plausible solution that offers itself is the possibility that the long avenue existed before the house was built. If it is assumed that there was a south dependency and that it was a stable and carriage house, this solution appears logical. The avenue could then have continued across the present big circle and lawn and approached this dependency or entered the grounds through a gate in the south brick wall, one which would have, approximately, balanced the opening in the existing north wall which gives entrance to the graveyard. Such a road might have curved up to the west front of the old house in a semi-circle. This possibility is suggested by the fact that today there are traces of a slightly raised semi-circle in such a position, followed in the existing garden by flower beds and a grass walk.

The old avenue may well have been laid out by eye and the fact that it was at a slight angle to the garden scheme would never have been noticed until an attempt was made to center the new

house on it. If this is the explanation, the builders chose wisely in centering the house on the axis of the avenue rather than upon that of the garden. Few visitors ever notice the discrepancy, though the line of the avenue, continued through the middle of the house and down the back lawn at an angle, hits the orangerie many feet to the west of its center.

It is impossible to give an accurate, documented date for the building of the present house. For the present it can only be stated that the family was still living in the old house in 1770, for the inventory of Edward Lloyd's estate, in that year, lists chattels by rooms and clearly indicates the old house. On April 18, 1792, Edward and Elizabeth Lloyd scratched their names and the date on a window pane of the existing house. For the rest, Wye House papers are filled, throughout these years and well into the next century, by references to extensive building. For example, there are references in 1773 to "the new house on Wye."[12] A letter from Richard Grason, the agent or overseer at Wye House, addressed to Edward Lloyd at Annapolis, November 22, 1774, states, "the new house I expect, will be covered tomorrow." This could be Wye House but also it could be any of numerous other houses on the vast Lloyd holdings.

More interesting are references to Robert Key, architect of, among other buildings, the second St. Anne's Church in Annapolis.[13] Accounts with him were settled by Edward Lloyd as early as 1775 and continued at least until 1798.[14] But only in the accounts of those later years is it definitely stated that the work was at Wye House. Probably, Robert Key was architect for several additions and changes made in the house in its early years and there is, of course, the possibility that the original designs came from his hand.

Around the building of Wye House there has, for many years, centered a legend, largely untrue. This story has it that the present house was built because the old house was looted and burned by the British during the Revolution. The story was handsomely em-

[12] Edward Lloyd account book, pp. 127-128 (deposit), Maryland Historical Society.

[13] Annie Leakin Sioussat (ed.), Rebecca Key's "A Notice of Some of the First Buildings with Notes of Some of the Early Residents," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV (1919), 269.

[14] Lloyd MSS and Edward Lloyd account book (deposits), Maryland Historical Society. For this reference and many others, I am indebted to Rosamond Randall (Mrs. Francis F.) Beirne.

broidered with the fiction that part of the loot was silver and this, coming later into the possession of the British royal family, was identified by its coat of arms and returned to the Lloyd family.

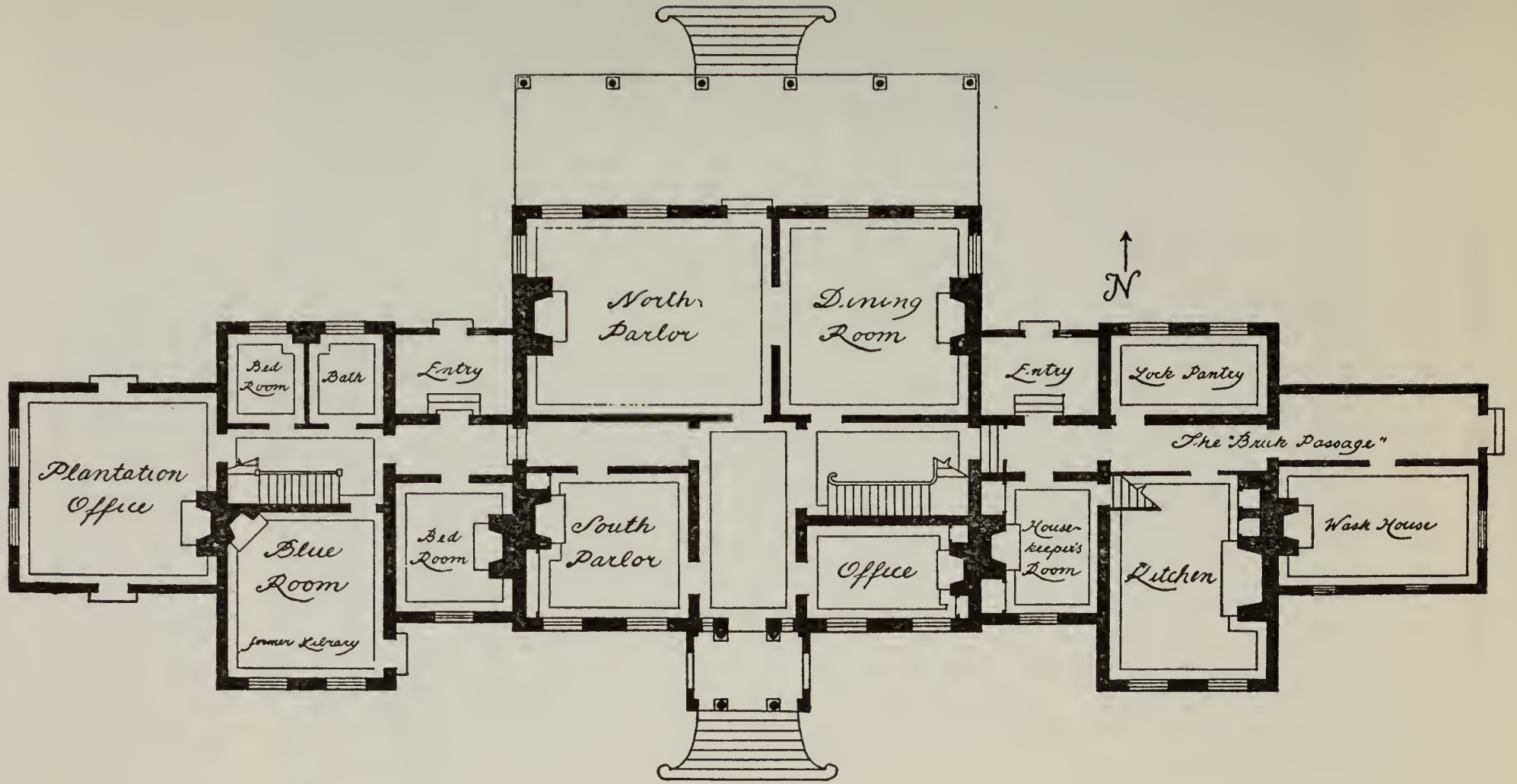
That the Lloyds' home was looted the night of March 13, 1781, has long been well documented. But there has never been any evidence for the burning and only recently has the complete and detailed story come to light.[15] It is now established that the raiders were not members of the British forces. They are spoken of as pirates. "Tis not doubted they were the people of Tangier Island, & probably without any [British] commission." The pirates were spoken of as deserters from the army who used Tangier Island as headquarters. These bands so terrified the community that at least three prominent families, the Lloyds, Bordleys, and the Tilghmans of Bayside, moved inland to places of greater safety.

During the raid, the members of the Lloyd family were offered no violence. The pirates stole not only money, jewelry, and silver, but bonds, linen, clothing, firearms, boats, and even a set of damask curtains. The list is still in existence among the Wye House papers. One of the raiders, however, was captured and the loot in his possession returned to the Lloyds. It has been established that some of this loot was silver. Herein, in all probability, rests the origin of the legend of loot returned by the Crown.

No mention is made in any document of the burning of the house and Edward Lloyd, in petitioning for an abatement of taxes because of his losses, made no mention of the loss of his dwelling. The legend has always had it that the original house was the one raided, but the references to building, mentioned above, make it possible that the new house was already built by 1781 and could have been the one subjected to looting.

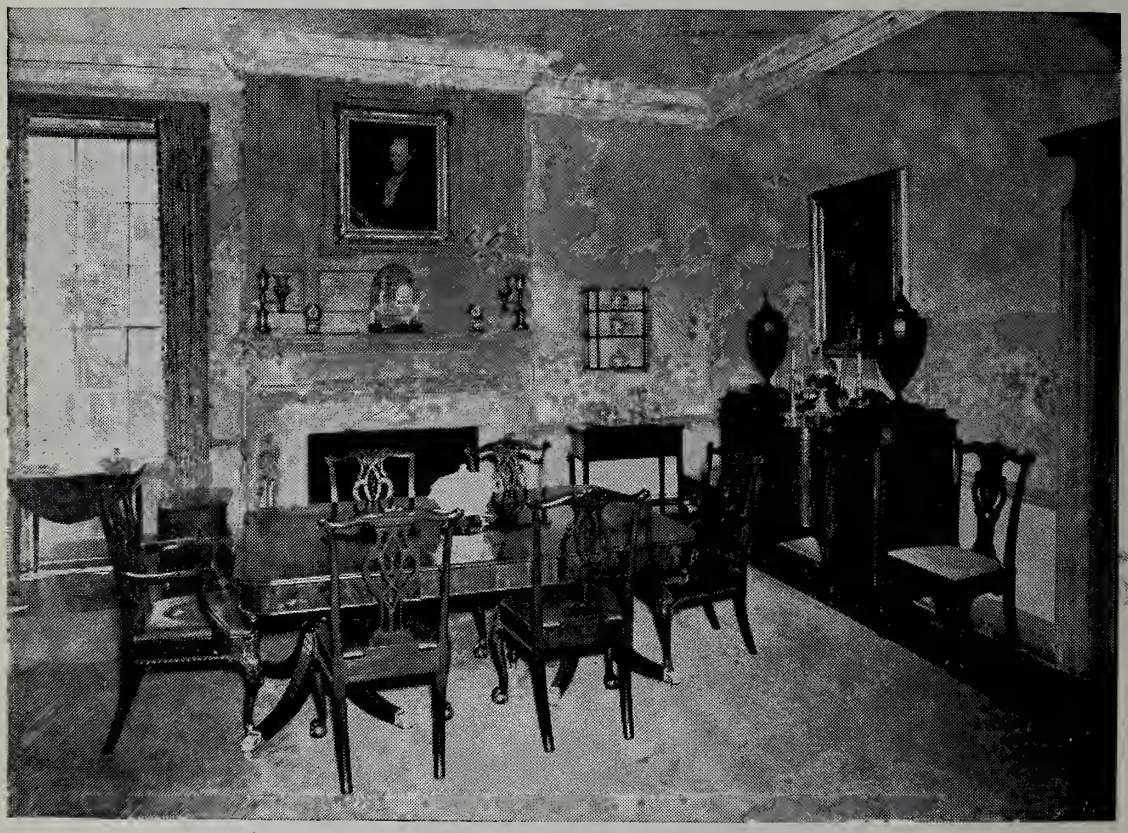
The reasons for the building of the newer house are probably quite commonplace ones. Edward Lloyd was the possessor of one of the largest fortunes in all the colonies and the records show he lived in luxury and style. Both to him and to his wife, Elizabeth Tayloe, who had been reared in one of the great Georgian houses of America, Mt. Airy in Virginia, the original 17th cen-

[15] I am indebted to Dr. James Bordley, Jr., for several quotations from letters written in 1781 by Henry Hollyday, half-uncle of Edward Lloyd, and from other documents referring not only to this raid but an attack, the same night, upon the home of the Bordleys across the river from Wye House. See Henry Hollyday to James Hollyday, March 22, March 26, April 2, April 5, and April 17, 1781, Hollyday Papers, Maryland Historical Society.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF WYE HOUSE

THE NORTH PARLOR



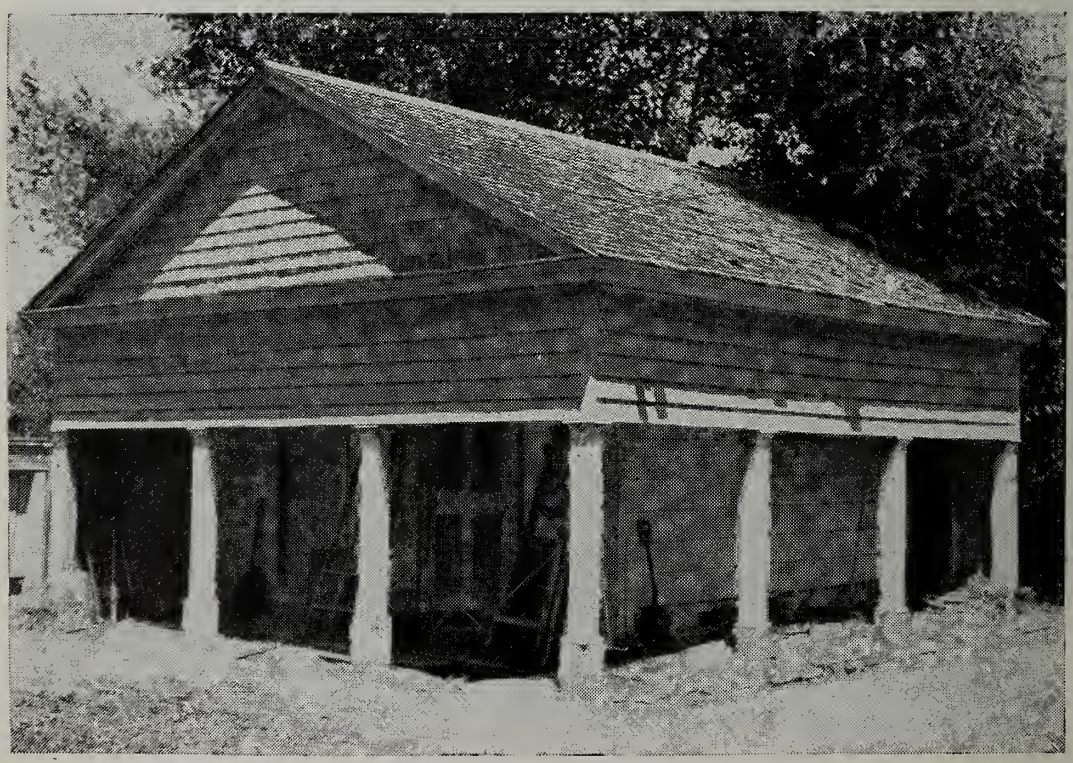
THE DINING ROOM

THE CAPTAIN'S HOUSE

THE ORANGERIE

THE GRAVEYARD AT WYE HOUSE

THE SMOKE HOUSE



THE DAIRY

That the porches are additions is shown in several ways. The foundation of the north wall of the main house, under the wide veranda, is also an outside wall and appears to have been exposed to the weather for some years. On the other side of the house, the outside trim and decoration of the front door and its flanking windows giving out on the south porch is far too massive and bold to have been planned as a doorway under a portico. It is quite dominant enough to have been the entrance motif of a house as large as this. The door is flanked by two, quarter-engaged columns. Above it, a semi-circular fanlight extends through the broken cornice into a pediment. There are two small side windows and the design ends in pilasters. This is exactly the scheme of the entrance to the Chase House in Annapolis, though a simpler version of slightly different proportions. The Wye House entrance is in the Doric order and lacks the more elaborate Ionic capitals of the Annapolis house and the modillions of the cornice. That this portico is an addition is also borne out by the fact that its side walls abut against the end pilasters of the entrance, covering two thirds of them and all of the return of the cornice.

In 1771 Edward Lloyd bought the Chase House, then in course of construction.[17] It is safe to assume that its woodwork and decoration was carried out by him. There are interesting similarities between the Annapolis and Talbot County Lloyd houses other than the entrance doorways. The drop handles and lock escutcheons of the interior doors at Wye House are copies in brass of those in silver at Annapolis. The unusual treatment of the frieze in the entablatures over the doors of the first floor at Wye House occurs in several places in the Chase House. It is quite possible that the construction of the two houses was being carried out at the same time and that the same designer or architect is responsible for both.

The two porches at Wye House are very different in design. The south, entrance portico is classic and Palladian both in feeling and in academic accuracy of proportion. The two Doric columns supporting a pediment and the corner pilasters carry out the motif of the entrance door. The two sidewalls, plastered on the

[17] J. Donnell Tilghman, "Bill for the Construction of the Chase House," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (1938), 23-26.

inside and pierced by arched openings or windows, give more than a hint of Palladio's Villa Rotunda at Capra.[18]

On the other hand, the veranda across the north front appears to be much later in design. Its crowning balustrade has the lightness of the Early Federal style. Its delicately proportioned, fluted columns end in capitals that bear no resemblance to any classic order but suggest, rather, the palm-leaf capitals of ancient Egypt. This addition may have been late enough to have been influenced by the interest in Egyptian designs aroused by Napoleon's Nile Campaign. The bill for the stone steps is dated February 28, 1800, and states that the steps were finished twelve months earlier.

The north entries to the passages of the two wings have trim that is Greek Revival in style and must, therefore, have been built during the third or fourth decades of the 19th century.

The frame construction of the house is not only unusually heavy but of hard wood. Some of the studs of the plantation office, a one-story unit, are of hand-hewn oak and measure almost six by eight inches. In the main units of the house this heavy construction is further reinforced by walls of moulded brick built between the wood members. The house is virtually a half-timbered building enclosed in clapboards.

An interesting fact concerning the brick came to light during repairs a few years ago. It became necessary to get access to the space under the first floor of the pavilion of the west wing. Here the ground was covered with ends of board and shavings, litter typical of all frame construction. There was also one whole, unfired moulded brick and broken fragments of several others. The clay of the bricks had not dissolved and the wood not rotted because of complete protection from the weather. It is probable that when the cellar for the main house was being dug, good clay was encountered. The clay could have been moulded into bricks right beside the excavation, sun dried, and then fired.[19] This gives new evidence to support a tradition, common on the Eastern Shore, that the bricks of many old houses were burned on the premises.[20]

[18] Among other architectural books in Edward Lloyd's library is Giacomo Leoni's *Architecture of Palladio*. Plate XV, Vol. II, shows the porticos of Villa Rotunda.

[19] On page 217 of Edward Lloyd's account book the following item, dated March, 1784, appears: "Charles Hogg. By 17¼ days work at taking down greenhouse, etc., and burning bricks underpinning the house." It is not now possible to determine whether this refers to work at Wye House or Annapolis.

[20] At Gross Coate, for example, across the river from Wye House, it is the tradition that the bricks were burned on the plantation and that a pond, near the head

In plan, the house gives evidence of but little change during the years. The moment one enters the front door one is struck with the quality of spaciousness: high ceilings, openness, light. It is a house designed, like so many of the old houses of the Tidewater, to be cool in summer. The six panel doors are, characteristically of the late 18th century, wide and low, a fact that accentuates the height of the ceilings. Their trim is crowned by frieze and horizontal cornices. All the first floor rooms of the main house have fireplaces with panelled overmantels.

Standing in the entrance hall, one may look north through the house for a vista of the bowling green and orangerie, or south for the length of the avenue to the top road gate. The narrow room to the right of the front door no longer serves as an office since the plantation office, long a store room, has been restored to its old function. To the left of the hall, the south parlor has the intimate furnishings of a family living room. The fireplace is considerably off center and it is probable that the passage to the west wing was taken off this room.

At the end of the hall, opposite the entrance, a door opens into the north parlor, the most beautiful room in the house and one of the most distinguished of its era in the state. Its furnishings, like those of most of the rooms, consist largely of pieces that have always been in the house. The four tall windows are hung with blue damask and between two of them are gilt mirrors made to order for these spaces in London. The bill for these mirrors, as well as those for the crystal girandoles on the console tables beneath them are still in existence.

From the north parlor a wide arch leads into the dining room. A line on the floor gives evidence that this room was once enlarged at the expense of the parlor. In the panelled overmantel beyond the dining table hangs a portrait of Governor Lloyd. Over the sideboard is the colorful painting, by Benjamin West, of Captain Richard Bennett Lloyd in the scarlet uniform of the Coldstream Guards.[21]

of Gross Creek, long used as an icepond, was the hole from which the clay was dug. I have been informed by members of the Hollyday family that the forms in which the bricks for the building of Readbourne were moulded were still in the attic of that house at the time it passed out of the hands of the family early in this century.

[21] Richard Bennett Lloyd (1750-1787) married, in England, the famous beauty, Joanna Leigh. Sir Joshua Reynold's portrait of her carving Ll(oyd) on the trunk of a tree, is one of the best known canvasses of the Rothschild collection. A great stir was created in Maryland and Philadelphia circles when Captain Lloyd brought his wife back to this country.

The windows of the main house, so notable a feature of the north parlor and dining room, are of unusual scale and are, indeed, so large as to make the house appear from the outside to be smaller than it actually is. Inside, they give to the rooms a distinction and a dignity generally achieved only in rooms of much greater size. The interior window trim projects boldly several inches from the plaster, in order to accommodate the folding, inside shutters. The muntins of the sash are astonishingly light and delicate. Though the interior finish of the house is in no way elaborate, it is marked by great refinement of line and proportion.[22]

Formerly, the passage into the west wing gave access only to the bedroom in the connecting unit and that in the north end of the pavilion. The south room in that pavilion was the library, reached only through an outside door. The plantation office was likewise entered from outside. The second story of the wing was reached by a narrow staircase out of the office.

In 1914 alterations were made to the wing. The roof of the pavilion, and also that of the east wing, was lifted about eighteen inches to give additional headroom in the second story and to raise the windows, whose sills had been just above floor level. This resulted, fortunately, in an improvement in the proportions and appearance of the house, particularly in the south facade. The north room of the wing, the old "blue room," was divided into two rooms and a stairhall. The plantation office was opened into this, as was the library, which now serves as a bedroom, the new "blue room."

In the east wing, the connecting unit is taken up by the "housekeeper's room" from which the stairs lead to the second floor. This room now serves as a breakfast room. Beyond it, the pavilion of the wing is mostly taken up by a huge kitchen. The old fireplace is now filled by a modern stove and the brick ovens have been filled in. A small room on the north side of this wing has served as a storage pantry. Recently, the floor here had to be taken up and the hearth of a fireplace, just above ground level, was revealed. Apparently, this space was at one time a porch with an outside fireplace. Its purpose, adjoining the kitchen, has never been determined.

[22] See Elliott L. Chisling, "Wye House, Home of the Lloyds, Talbot County, Maryland," *Monograph Series,* XVI (1930), 281-308, for measured drawings and detail photographs of much of the interior finish, both porticoes, and dependencies.

To the east of the kitchen wing several outbuildings face a service yard. Nearest the house is the old dairy, a low, squat building with a shading portico supported on short, square posts. Next, the loom house, now converted into a garage, in which at one time the cloth for the plantation was woven. In the far corner stands a building whose original function remains a mystery and whose lines and design have occasioned endless speculation. The structure is of frame, as are the other outbuildings, with a low, gabled roof. Its side walls are pierced by unglazed, iron barred openings, as narrow as and closely resembling the slits in the masonry walls of a medieval fortress. The front end of the building is carried up two floors, like a false front about ten feet thick. Boarded up windows in this part indicate the existence of former rooms. As far as is known, this building has been used as a smokehouse for the better part of a century. Its raised front, and the gable end of the dairy, repeat the classic pediments of the dwelling house.

By far the most interesting of the dependencies, perhaps more interesting even than the house itself, is the orangerie. The structure is of brick, covered with stucco. The piers separating the windows of the central unit are courses of rusticated stone and at the corners stone quoins run to the cornice line. This makes the orangerie one of the most monumental, in the architectural sense, of the domestic buildings of the period in Maryland.

It consists of a two story central unit flanked by lower, one story wings. The south front of the central mass is pierced by four high, square headed windows, that of the wings by lower, arched openings. Save for one small door, there are no openings in the other walls. The interior consists of one long room at ground level. In the second story is a room that served as a billiard room. The table, apparently dating from the late 18th century, is still in its original position. Across the back of the building an addition under a low, shed roof contains rooms which, though long used merely for storage, give evidence of having been lived in. Perhaps these were rooms used by gardeners or servants who tended the fire in winter.

The orange and lemon trees were planted in square tubs. In summer they stood in rows in the garden and were moved into the orangerie at the approach of winter. The heat of the sunlight, through the great south windows, was augmented by a heating

system. The remains of this are still visible though considerable excavation and the tearing down of walls would have to be done to determine exactly how it functioned. There remains today a tile duct in the floor just back of the windows. Its interior is blackened with soot. In some way it connected with furnaces probably located in the lean-to addition along the north wall of the building.

Robert Goldsborough of Myrtle Grove wrote an interesting letter to Governor Edward Lloyd on October 27, 1810. Goldsborough speaks of a request by Dr. Thomas for "a Lemon" prescribed for Mrs. Goldsborough who was ill. He conveys thanks for the lemon and reports on Mrs. Goldsborough's condition.[23]

The orangerie was used for raising citrus fruit until past the middle of the last century.[24]

The building, in its present form, appears to have resulted from the alteration and enlargement of an older structure, which, as was pointed out, above, antedates the existing dwelling. Signs in the masonry indicate the central unit as the oldest. To the west of this, instead of the large wing, was a narrow addition containing a stairway. Probably both wings were added at the same time and access to the second floor was then gained by an outside stair that crossed the shed roof on the north side. This stair remained in existence until about fifty years ago. Today, the second floor is reached from inside the main unit.

There are several items among the Wye House papers that may refer to the alterations to the orangerie. The most interesting is the following account: [25]

Charles Hogg, Stonemason, Contra.

1779, April 3. By buildings on S. River for cutting 252 foot stone in four piers @ 20/ pr foot	252–
By buildings on ditto for cutting 37 foot 6 inch stone in plinth @ 20/	37–10–
April 21. By buildings S. River cutting 40 foot Sup. Rustic Quine	40–
By ditto, cutting 10 foot Sup. moulded plinthe	40–0–0

[23] Lloyd MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

[24] C. Howard Lloyd, born 1859, recalled that, as a small boy, he was often sent to the greenhouse by his mother to fetch a lemon. Some years later, on his first trip to France, he was interested to note that the tubs for the trees in the orangerie at Versailles were the same as those he remembered at Wye House. In the past the Wye House orangerie was always called the greenhouse.

[25] Edward Lloyd account book, p. 126.

July 27. By ditto for 14 courses of rustic ashlar for the quoins 187 feet @ 20/ 187–10–0
By ditto Ashlars for the interval spaces 48 foot @ 20/ 48–0–0
By ditto for 4 p^{s} Base moulding 24 foot @ 20/ 24–0–0

At first glance this appears to refer to the stonework of the orangerie. That the number of piers, the dimensions of the plinth and the number of courses of ashlar do not exactly coincide with the building as it stands is unimportant. But the reference to buildings on " S. River " poses a question.

Whether Edward Lloyd owned land on Severn River, other than his house in Annapolis, or tracts on South River, has not been determined by this writer. But even if he did, there seems to be no record or tradition of any stone building of that period on those shores either as monumental or as formal as this account suggests. On the other hand, it is difficult to reconcile " on S. River " with the location of the Wye House orangerie. Future research may well give the answer. For the present, one can only assume that the alterations to the orangerie were undertaken by the same Edward Lloyd who built the present house.[26]

This Edward Lloyd carried out the tradition of his forebears by being a member of Assembly, of the Provincial Convention of 1775 and of the Council of Safety. He played a prominent role during the Revolution, was a delegate to the Continental Congress and a member of the state convention to ratify the Constitution. He also served in the state legislature and senate. After his death in 1796 Wye House passed to his son.

This Edward (1779-1834) married Sally Scott Murray. He was Governor of Maryland, 1809-1811, and United States Senator, 1819-1826. The next Edward (1798-1861), who married Alicia McBlair, took part in state political affairs, was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention of 1850 and later state senator. The last Edward Lloyd (1825-1907) to own Wye House married Mary Key Howard. He served in state legislature and senate.

The once great fortune that had created and maintained Wye House through so many generations had, by the end of the last century, vanished. To the after effects of the Civil War and the

[26] It is interesting to speculate on a possible connection between the Wye House orangerie and the one which once existed at Mt. Airy, in Virginia, the former home of Edward Lloyd's wife, Elizabeth Tayloe.

abolition of slavery, factors which had ruined almost every southern fortune based on land, were added the very unwise stipulations of a will. The maker of the will had never imagined, much less foreseen, a day in which the owners of the great southern plantations would be called land poor, and had placed upon his sons and their heirs financial burdens that eventually ruined them. Finally, not only money but most of the land was gone and Edward Lloyd was faced with the necessity of selling Wye House. Fortunately, his second son, Charles Howard Lloyd together with his wife, Mary Donnell Lloyd, were able to buy in and save the family home.

Upon the deaths of both Charles Howard Lloyd and his wife, the place descended to their two daughters. Mrs. Morgan B. Schiller acquired the half interest of her sister, Mrs. Thomas Hughes, and today the Schillers maintain Wye House as their year round residence. After having been closed for many years, the house is again open and modernised, a center, as it was through previous generations, of the life and activity of the county.

Behind the orangerie lies another of the great distinctions that mark Wye House: a graveyard in which lie members of ten generations of the Lloyd family. It is one of the largest family graveyards in the state and, since its first stones are dated 1684, one of the oldest.[27] Here, in two rows, marked by matching monuments, lie the owners of Wye House and their wives. Nearby are the graves of children, grandchildren and great grandchildren and their wives and husbands. Among them are two famous officers of the Confederacy, Admiral Franklin Buchanan and Brigadier General Charles S. Winder. This quiet and shaded spot has, apparently by inherited tradition, been the playground of many generations of Lloyd children and their friends. See it late of a summer afternoon and it is easy to understand why descendants down to the third and fourth generations have so deep a wish to be buried here.

[27] Howard, "Lloyd Graveyard," *loc. cit.*

THE CHESAPEAKE BAY PILOTS

By M. V. Brewington

OF all the maritime community—the masters, mates, supercargoes, and tradesmen—the most respected members have always been the pilots. To that group of men is entrusted the vessels, cargoes, and the lives of passengers and crews while traversing the most dangerous parts of any voyage, the entry and departure from port. In the pilot's mind's eye there must be an accurate, detailed picture of something no one has ever actually seen: the bottom of the waterway. And since the bottom is always in motion and shifting, the picture is continuously changing, something a chart can never be. More, the pilots must be consummate seamen, able to handle any vessel, large or small, quick or clumsy, propelled by sail or power.

In colonies like Virginia and Maryland where it could be truly said every inhabitant " is apparelled from head to foot in [English] manufactures . . . scarcely drinks, sits, moves, labours, or recreates himself without contributing to the emolument of the mother country " [1] the men who brought in the vessels had most of the well-being of the colonies in their hands. On the Chesapeake, the pilot of the early days of the Virginia settlement had no easy task: There had not been a single hydrographic survey of the waters from the Capes to Jamestown nor was there a lighthouse or even a buoy to mark the shoals in Hampton Roads or the James. And after the Maryland colony was established there were miles of unknown on the two longest tidal pilot's runs in the world, with a maze of bars athwart the course of a vessel bound up the Bay or up the Potomac.

Added to these natural dangers across the waters of the Chesapeake from Watkins Point on the Eastern Shore to Smith's Point on the Western Shore there runs a wall, invisible to be sure, but none the less a wall: the boundary line between Maryland and

[1] *London Magazine*, XXXV, 34.

Virginia. Over the top of that wall like fish-wives, first the two provinces, then the two states, have argued for three centuries about almost everything that touches the Bay: crabs, oysters, fish, lighthouses, and transit. But about pilotage, although a Federal Law passed in 1836 enabling a Virginia pilot to practise in Maryland and *vice versa*, and although an act of legislature of one gives an unfair advantage to its own men, there has been no wrangling or trouble. The skill, dignity, and cooperative spirit with which the pilots of these States have carried on their profession for over three centuries could well serve as an example to be copied by their governments.

The Virginia Pilots

Although there probably was at least one man in the original group of Virginia colonists with a superior knowledge of the waters of the Bay entrance and the James River by the time the Second Supply arrived, the first formal mention of a pilot, an unfortunate fellow named John Clark, is not found until four years later. In 1611 a Spanish vessel dispatched to spy out the condition of the colony arrived at Hampton Roads. Claiming that their vessel was "lost," three of the crew came ashore to request the aid of a pilot to get her back to sea. The Governor knew well what the visitors were up to and eager to rid himself of the very unwelcome guests, he sent Clark to con (i. e., conduct) them out of the Capes. But the pilot, the Governor reported " . . . was no sooner in the boat . . . away they went with him." [2] And instead of dropping Clark at the Capes, they carried him off to Spain. There he languished in a dungeon for years, with the Inquisition ever in his eye, before the English government succeeded in having him released.

With an increasing traffic entering the Capes one would assume there was demand enough for pilots to assure an adequate supply. Seemingly this was not the case, due perhaps to the small size and consequent easy draft of the vessels first used in the Virginia trade. As the vessels became larger and as the settlements spread

[2] This same John Clark was the mate of the *Mayflower* when in 1620 she came into Plymouth Bay instead of Chesapeake Bay, her intended destination. See Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History* (Boston, 1884-1889), III, 269, 271; William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, Morison edition (New York, 1952), 366 fn.

along every waterway, the need for pilots became very evident. About 1660 complaints were made that there were no pilots working and to make matters worse there was a complete absence of "beacons," as channel markers were then called, on the shoals in even the most important stream, the James River. With attention called to these dangers to the all important tobacco fleets, the House of Burgesses passed its first act to improve navigation in the Bay. It created a "chief pilot" for James River who was to be paid £5 for every vessel over 80 tons conned, or if his services were refused, 40s. Evidently vessels under 80 tons were shoal enough to take care of themselves. The first man appointed to the office of chief pilot was Captain William Oewen. In addition to his duties as pilot he also had to set out and maintain buoys along the channel from Willoughby Spit to Jamestown. These were financed by a charge of 30s. paid to the chief pilot by every vessel which anchored. His dual function gave him a full time job and Oewen was soon petitioning for permission to take apprentices. Captain Oewen was succeeded as Chief Pilot by Captain Chichester who was followed by his son William thereby beginning a professional tradition: family dynasties of pilots.[3]

To prevent untrained and irresponsible persons from practising as pilots, the House of Burgesses in 1669 passed an act which stipulated that no man could legally work unless he held a warrant from the governor. Before such a warrant could be obtained the would-be pilot must present evidence of his good character by means of a recommendation from his county court and equally important prove his knowledge of the Bay's bottom by a certificate from five master mariners of "experience, skill, and judgment." By 1702 two pilots had qualified for the James River, John Lowery and Israel Vaulx; one for the York, William Seyers; two for the Rappahannock, Garet Minor and James Jones; but none had been commissioned for the Potomac or the Eastern Shore rivers.[4]

The commissioned pilots were extremely jealous of their rights and resented interlopers strongly. Lowery, for instance, made a complaint that one John Patteson who had ". . . no settled abode

[3] W. W. Hening, *Virginia Statutes at Large*, II, 35. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, I, 32. P. A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia* (New York, 1895), II, 352.

[4] *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, II, 20. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, I (1894), 362, 364. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I, 197. Hening, VI, 490-93; VII, 581.

boate nor hands but what is Lent by George Walker who hath half Profitt, doth . . . pilot ships & vessells" and begged to have Patteson's activity stopped. Joseph Mumford, a York River pilot, in 1706 reported Thomas Perrin who "pilots . . . without commission." To help prevent these impostors passing themselves off as pilots, in 1721 the Virginia customs officials were required to post lists of the commissioned pilots in their offices.[5]

The profession of pilot was by no means restricted to free whites and while it is impossible to determine either the number or proportion of slaves engaged, from the amount of advertising which concerns them the number must have been sizeable. There was Solomon Haynes who in 1768 ran from his master—"a very crafty fellow and an exceedingly good pilot." In 1769 Charles Lee owned Daniel, "a very good pilot." John Thompson had "several valuable negroes . . . good pilots to any part of the Bay." Samuel Meredith, senior, advertised as a runaway "Able . . . well known as a Pilot for York River and the Bay. He can write so as to be understood . . . and has been to England," and a few years later offered for sale "James Tarripin . . . one of the best Pilots in Virginia from Cape Henry to the Head of the Bay and Rivers thereof."[6] Slaves continued to serve as pilots until 1826 when Virginia required all applicants to be "free white citizens." This was not an arbitrary law which threw colored pilots out since twenty-four years before the Assembly had passed a bill which stated that thereafter no Negro or mulatto could get a pilot's license, but that those then holding a branch could continue to work. No indentured servants or transported convicts seem to have become pilots.[7]

Over the years following the basic act of 1660 commissioned pilots established themselves on practically every stream into which a seagoing vessel might enter. Of course increasing traffic density brought new problems, chiefly those concerning fees, and in 1755 pilotage as a whole was taken into consideration by the Virginia legislature which enacted a detailed bill regulating almost every phase. Under its provisions the governor was directed to appoint a board to examine would-be pilots. If the applicants

[5] *Executive Journals*, II, 136, 192, 224, 236, 545.
[6] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), November 3, 1768, February 9, 1769, December 3, 1773. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon & Hunter), September 5, 1777.
[7] Virginia *Acts of Legislature*, 1802, ch. 287; 1826, ch. 69.

proved themselves to be "of sufficient skill and ability" the governor issued a "branch" as a pilot's license to practise is called. Any man who acted without a branch was liable to an increasingly heavy fine for each offense to be paid to the informant. If a branch holder did not, or ceased to, practise, the branch was revoked. The act also fixed pilotage fees on a per-foot-of-draft basis from the Capes to all the principal harbors and landings with schooners, sloops, and shallops paying two-thirds the rate of that fixed for ships, snows, and brigs. Should a pilot demand a higher fee, an informant could collect double the charge. Of the greatest importance to the public was section eight of the act which provided that any pilot who lost a vessel through negligence was incapicitated forever from holding a branch and furthermore was liable for all damages.[8]

Following the Virginia Act of 1775 which might be said to have fixed the operating plan of the Virginia pilots, there was little or no change in the conduct of the business for a long period. During the various wars between the British and French up to 1763 the pilots seem to have had little or no trouble either with treasonable enemy contracts or with capture, although the French and Spanish vessels, usually privateers, were frequently off the Capes and occasionally within. But when our War for Independence began there was another story to tell. From the very outset of hostilities Lord Dunmore, the Royal Governor of Virginia, seems to have had no difficulty moving his little fleet about the Bay. Joseph Whaland, Jr., a Marylander who was a Bay pilot, brought Dunmore as far up the Chesapeake as Nanticoke River. Nor was any trouble experienced by the squadrons of Sir George Collier, Howe, and Arbuthnot which at least implies the presence of pilots familiar with the waters of the Bay. Because so many pilots gave aid to the enemy, in addition to the penalties for treason, to keep the pilots on the "right" side the Council of Virginia in 1778 advised the governor "as an encouragement to offer the pilots besides their daily pay, a premium of 4s. per ton for every such Vessel safely brought into Port."[9]

While there were some who had Tory sympathies, the great majority of the pilots seem to have been good rebels and in addi-

[8] *Laws of Virginia*, 28 George II, ch. 11.

[9] *Journal of the Council of the State of Virginia*, II, 112-113. Elias Jones, *History of Dorchester County* (Baltimore, 1925), 208.

tion to their regular duties, acted time after time as lookouts and as dispatch carriers. In all there were no less than thirty-eight Virginia pilots who served the government actively between 1775 and 1783. Among them were at least two slaves, Cuffee and Minny, and another Negro who may have been a freeman, Captain Starlins.[10] One of them, Cuffee, died of wounds in 1781 while serving on the pilot boat *William Graves* which had encountered an enemy. The services of the pilots were invaluable and contributed in no small degree to the success of American arms. In 1776 the pilot boat *Molly* brought in 7500 pounds of badly needed gunpowder. The pilots, dodging not only shoals but the Royal Navy, conducted through the Capes dozens of merchantmen which carried tobacco to France and the West Indies and brought back arms, clothing and other necessaries for the civilian as well as the soldier. In 1781 with William Jennings as their chief the Virginia pilots took charge of the French fleet which aided so greatly in the victory at Yorktown.[11] It was during the War for Independence that the Virginia pilots in government service were for the first time accorded the pay and rank of a naval officer, that of lieutenant. That practise has continued down to the present.

Not all of this service was without sacrifice on the part of the pilots. Joshua Cain, captured by the British in 1781, died in a Halifax prison ship; Joseph White met the same fate in a West Indian jail. Christopher Morris spent most of the war in the infamous Sugar House in New York and George Watkins had a long vacation from duty in Britain's Forton Prison. When a fleet believed to be French was sighted off the Capes in 1780, Governor Thomas Jefferson dispatched ten pilots to bring the vessels in. The pilots " joined the said fleet and to their great mortification found them to be British " whereupon ten more pilots went to the prison hulks. With almost a third of their number captured and under confinement, no cry of slacker or Tory could have been raised against the majority.[12]

Indeed at the end of the war the number of pilots seems to have been too small to care for the trade of the Bay, and Virginia in 1783 required each pilot to take and train a white apprentice. At

[10] R. A. Stewart, *History of Virginia's Navy of the Revolution* (Richmond, 1933), p. 140 *passim*.
[11] *Ibid.*, 106.
[12] *Ibid.*, 28, 98.

the same time all the colonial laws relating to pilots were reaffirmed and business seems to have reverted to what it had been before the fall of the Royal Government.[13] Three years later, though, a new pilot law was enacted. It created a board of three examiners and fixed a new schedule of fees. Responsibility for the vessel under charge was retained. One new element was introduced: Four pilots, no more no less, were allowed to join in partnership, in the ownership of a boat and the general conduct of the business. In 1791 the General Assembly by a law copying a four year old Maryland statute classified pilots into three groups: the first, as indicated by his branch, could con any vessel; the second branch pilot was restricted to vessels of not more than twelve feet draft; and the third branch to vessels of nine feet or under. Apprentices were also classed according to their master's branch and under his eye could direct the helm.

Few events in her history have caused quite so much stir in Norfolk as did the attack of H. M. S. *Leopard* on the U. S. S. *Chesapeake* in 1807. That unwarranted strike caused the greatest indignation because the Captain, James Barron, was a Virginian; most of the *Chesapeake's* crew had been recruited locally; and the frigate herself had been the first product of the Norfolk Navy Yard, to say nothing of the merits of the case. A mass meeting of the citizens was called and among other things it resolved "That the pilots of Chesapeake Bay and Hampton whose patriotism we hold in the highest estimation are requested to discontinue entirely their professional services to all British ships of war." [14]

During the War of 1812 there seems to have been very little disaffection among the Virginia pilots despite the fact that the superior enemy naval force was well supplied with gold. True, two pilot boats were apprehended supplying the British fleet with provisions, but the fact that the Royal Navy was forced to sound its own way and then mark the channels with buoys seems evidence that pilots were not fully available to Admirals Warren and Cockburn, even though when in February, 1813, two British 74-gun ships, three frigates, and a tender entered the Bay, "they brought to a pilot boat and took pilots from her." [15]

In 1786 Maryland passed an act which would have enabled Vir-

[13] Hening, XI, 188.
[14] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, IX, 519.
[15] *Ibid.*, X, 184.

ginia pilots to work in Maryland waters, if Virginia reciprocated. Virginia did not see fit to do so and in 1794 prohibited a pilot " residing in another state " from working in a Virginia pilot boat. The year before the two states had been almost equal in owned tonnage subject to pilotage, 26,800 tons for Maryland and 24,000 tons for Virginia. Seven years later Maryland owned 81,500 tons and Virginia 42,000 tons,[16] and Virginia made an attempt to open the Maryland business to her pilots, by offering to allow Maryland pilots to apply to the Virginia Board of Examiners for a branch, if Maryland would reciprocate with a similar law " in favor of the pilots of Virginia." [17] Maryland feeling, no doubt, that a prior and similar offer had been slighted paid no attention to the Virginia law. This section was reenacted in 1819; again Maryland failed to notice it. At the same time Virginia fixed pilot fees for every creek along the Potomac from Smith's Point to the Eastern Branch.[18] In spite of these somewhat provocative legislative actions, no troubles seem to have resulted, the pilots of both states following their " live and let live " policy.

Along with the regular duties of conning vessels in and out of port, the pilots were required to watch for vessels subject to quarantine. Before boarding an inbound craft, the pilot was expected to inquire if the craft had had any illness aboard or if she was entering from a port where disease of epidemic proportions was raging. Should the answer be " yes," the pilot boat then led the stranger to a safe anchorage and notified the health officer. Frequently the answer was " no " but when the pilot boarded he learned the vessel was subject to quarantine, and he along with the passengers and crew had to wait out the time. To protect the pilots, in 1801 Virginia passed a bill requiring the vessel to pay the pilot thus " decoyed " on board $2.00 a day in addition to his regular fee.[19]

Another but far more onerous duty was forced on the pilots in 1856 by the passage of " an act providing additional protection for the slave property. . . . " This required the inspection of all non-Virginia owned out-bound vessels to see that no slave or criminal was concealed on board. The pilots were all appointed

[16] Adam Seybert, *Statistical Annals of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1818), p. 321.
[17] Virginia, *Acts of Legislature*, 1801, ch. 277.
[18] *Acts*, 1819, ch. 43.
[19] *Acts*, 1801, ch. 277.

"A Virginia Pilot-Boat with a distant view of Cape Henry at the entrance of the Chesapeake."
From *Naval Chronicle*, published in London, 1815.

" inspectors " and given a $5 fee for each vessel. If a runaway slave were found, the owner paid the pilot a reward of $100 and if the vessel itself was culpable and was forfeited, the pilot also received half her value. But if a slave got away through a faulty search, the pilot was fined $50.[20] There were five pilot boats in service at that time: *Reindeer, Antelope, Plume, Hope,* and *York.* All were equipped with a bow chaser to enforce the inspection and at least one was always on station in Hampton Roads and another in York River.[21]

Just before the outbreak of the Civil War, Virginia pilotage was given a complete overhaul by the Assembly. Licensed coasters were exempt from taking pilots if any paid an annual fee of ten cents a ton; vessels of any class four-fifths Virginia owned were also exempt; no pilots were required on any vessel in the rivers; and even foreign vessels owned in British provinces paid the minimum fees. All of these changes were made primarily for the benefit of the growing coal trade: all of them obviously hurt the pilots.[22]

Before any action could be taken to rectify the situation, the war began, and the unorganized pilots were forgotten. A few turned to blockade running undoubtedly, but as the blockade tightened fewer opportunities in that trade offered. Even the Confederate States Navy could not obtain pilots because they had been conscripted into the Army, or if a man lost a vessel, or when the currency became debased, if he asked for more than government pay, he was forced to enlist.[23] The few men who served as pilots were forbidden to work on the Potomac River or Chesapeake Bay for fear that capture by Union forces would give the North their services. These men petitioned the state for relief but no evidence that it was granted has been found.[24]

When peace returned Virginia was virtually without native pilots. The pilot boats were gone: the *Plume* and *Hope* were sunk below Richmond as obstructions to Yankee gunboats; the *York* became a Confederate States privateer; the *Reindeer* and *Antelope*

[20] *Acts*, 1855-1856, ch. 47.
[21] *Norfolk County History and Biography, 1637-1900*, p. 312.
[22] *Acts*, 1859-1860, ch. 43 and 46.
[23] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* (Washington, 1891-1922), 2d ser., III, 1084.
[24] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, XI, 128.

were sunk near Norfolk.[25] Before the older men could get back from the Army, or the military prisons, and before a new group could be trained, sea-going carpet-baggers arrived. They were Yankee fishermen, good sailors no doubt, but not too familiar with the Bay's maze of shoals. They saw a chance for easy money and cruizing off the Capes they met incoming vessels and claiming to be Bay pilots, bargained with the skippers. Wrecks and strandings of course followed and soon the reputation of the Virginia pilots fell to a low level.

At that point under the leadership of one of the old hands, Captain Sam Wood, the Association of Virginia Pilots was formed along the lines established by the Maryland Pilots some fourteen years before. The Association brought the situation to the attention of the Assembly in a forceful manner and the Assembly acted. Boards of Examiners consisting of pilots and merchants were established at Norfolk, Hampton, and Alexandria. All pilots had to be examined by one of these boards. Any person acting as a pilot without a proper branch could be fined, jailed, and forfeited of his boat. Pilot stations were fixed off Cape Henry and between Point Lookout and Ragged Point on the Potomac, and every vessel had to remain at the station for a minimum of fifteen hours to discharge the pilot or if she took a pilot " beyond his state " against his will she was subject to a penalty of $300, and $75 a month to the pilot. On the pilots' part, they had to maintain suitable boats of thirty feet keel, marked with the boat's name and port of hail on the foresail. They were fully responsible for damages if a vessel got into trouble through the pilot's neglect. And if a pilot tried to cut the fixed fee, he was fined the full fee and suspended; or if he tried to collect more, the fine was double the fee and suspension with an ad in the Norfolk papers proclaiming him as a chiseler.[26]

The Association, following the scheme worked out by Maryland pilots, brought a complete change in the conduct of the business affairs of the profession: it provided and operated the necessary minimum of pilot boats; it supervised the training of apprentices, even maintaining a school-ship, the schooner *William A. Graves*; it collected all fees for its member's services and after paying the

[25] *Norfolk County History and Biography, loc. cit.*

[26] *Acts*, 1865-1866, ch. 47 and 48. A. C. Brown (ed.), *Newport News—325 Years*, pp. 306-308.

general expenses, divided the profits among its members so that each made a living regardless of the individual's luck in getting deep or shoal draft vessels to con. Until 1891 the Virginia pilots continued to use sailing vessels exclusively. Then the Association had built at Neafie & Levy's yard in Philadelphia the steamer *Relief*. The vessels owned by the Virginia Pilots have been: schooners *Phantom, William Starkey*, and *William A. Graves*; auxiliary schooners *Virginia* and *Hampton Roads;* steamers *Relief* [I], *Relief* [II], and *Virginia*; launches *Sybil* and *Pilot.*

With the arrival of the steamer *Relief* at the Capes much of the picturesque left the profession, and to all intents the story of the Virginia pilots ended because in organization, equipment, and operation they were identical with all other Atlantic coast pilots from Maine to Florida.

The Maryland Pilots

The name of that very important fellow who piloted the *Ark* and the *Dove* up the Bay in March, 1634, is yet to be learned. His knowledge of the waters and shore may have had much to do with the choice of Maryland's first settlement. There were pilots even then who were familiar with the Bay and rivers because the year before Lord Baltimore's settlers arrived, William Claiborne had paid 10s. for the services of one.[27] The pilot *de facto* for Baltimore's party may have been Henry ffleet who accompanied the expedition up from Jamestown; but if so, ffleet after all, was not a professional pilot but a trader who had had some experience in the Potomac River channels while on trading trips to the Indian towns.

Indeed some ten years must elapse after the landing at St. Mary's before the first Maryland pilot, John Rablie, appears in the record. Even he may well have been an amateur because according to one vessel's owner Rablie did not do " the duty of pilot but, brought his ship a ground & carried her beyond the port." [28] An under-statement that, apparently, for when in 1644 Rablie sued for his fee—" 15 lb. Sterl. in goods . . . a new P. of shoes & a new Saile for his shallopp " [29] a witness stated that the " . . . shipp sailed by St michaels point [present Point Lookout] on Satturday & the next morning she came aground about James

[27] " Claiborne vs. Cloberry," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVIII (1933), 38.
[28] *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 307.
[29] *Ibid.*, 303.

point on the Eastern shore; & then returned back to St michaels point on Sonday night " [30] certainly not a good testimonial to the skill or knowledge generally expected of a professional pilot.

In the early years of both the Virginia and Maryland colonies there was no difference in the conduct of the pilot's profession. The pilots of each as individuals acted on their own, getting jobs where and when they could and charging whatever the traffic would bear with no regulation under law. Virginia began its official regulation of the profession in 1660; Maryland gave it no legal notice until after she became a state, well over a century later.

But that lack of attention does not mean that there were no Maryland pilots and the very fact that they are seldom mentioned in the executive or judicial records is evidence that they must have been men of skill and respectability, and that they were on hand, when needed. For example, when an expedition was sent from St. Mary's to the Nanticoke Indian lands in 1676, Colonel William Burges, the leader, was instructed to take a " Pilott " in order to reach the Indian town of Chicacone.[31] A few years later Thomas Hebb of St. Mary's County—the birthplace of most of the early Maryland pilots—was held for trial in Virginia because he had piloted a vessel through Virginia waters without a branch from either colony, a pure case of attempted intimidation to lessen competition because Maryland had not licensed her pilots.[32] Again the existence and importance of Maryland pilots were recognized by the governor at the time of Queen Anne's War when all Maryland pilots were ordered upon the first alarm of a hostile fleet in the Bay to come to Annapolis by land to avoid risk of capture by the enemy.[33]

Maryland's first move towards licensing her pilots came in 1733. On June 18, Charles Calvert, 5th Lord Baltimore, wrote his agent in the province ". . . as it is necessary for the Safety of the Trade that Experienced Persons be appointed to Pilote Ships up the Bay as well as up the Several Rivers within the Province, you shall appoint Such persons taking from Each and every one of them the Value of 20s. Sterling yearly." [34] Fair words, if taken literally, expressing Lord Baltimore's great interest in the commerce of his

[30] *Ibid.*, 307.
[31] *Ibid.*, XV, 142.
[32] *Ibid.*, XX, 387.
[33] *Ibid.*, XXV, 203.
[34] *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 504.

province. Actually it was but a part of Baltimore's efforts to squeeze more revenue out of his domain. My lord's agent did succeed in gouging 20s. out of some few men, but the House of Delegates saw what Baltimore was up to and refused flatly to pass the supply bill in which this fee with others was included, and the pilots continued their unregulated way.

From that time to the end of the proprietorship the licensing of pilots became a political football. Twenty years after Charles Calvert's letter to his agent, another Lord Baltimore, Frederick Calvert, instructed his governor, " . . . as it is necessary for the Safety of the Trade . . . that experienced Persons be . . . appointed to Pilot Ships up the Bay . . . " and so forth exactly as his ancestor had said it and with the same intent.[35] This time the governor asked the advice of his council before putting the proposal to the General Assembly. The council, knowing that " his late Lordship would not prosecute such persons as piloted without Lycense nor assist those that were Lycensed in carrying on such prosecutions," temporized. They suggested that Baltimore's agent grant licenses to " such Persons as are Qualified to be Pilots and who apply . . . " and asked the Attorney General for an opinion of the possibility of haling unlicensed pilots into court. Whatever the opinion may have been has not been discovered, seemingly it was in the negative for Governor Sharpe wrote Lord Baltimore to inform him that a few pilots had offered to pay the license fee, provided unlicensed persons were prohibited from acting as pilots. The Governor then suggested that if Lord Baltimore could induce the British merchants to order the masters of their vessels to take only licensed pilots and if his Lordship could persuade the marine insurance underwriters to void all policies to and from Maryland unless a licensed pilot was used, then a licensing system would be successful. If Lord Baltimore received the letter he paid no more attention to it than he did to his gaming debts, because two years later he wrote Governor Sharpe to inquire why no pilots' licenses had been issued. What he really wanted to know, of course, was why he had not received any fees from that source. Sharpe replied in a most diplomatic manner and after inquiring for an answer to his letter of two years before let his Lordship know an attempt to make revenue for his private purse out of the pilots would certainly not add to the noble Lord's popularity in his province.[36]

[35] *Ibid.*, XXXI, 22.

[36] *Ibid.*, VI, 92, 408-409.

In 1758 and 1759 a tax on pilots was proposed and failed to pass: in these instances it was to be one means of paying the costs of the French and Indian War assessed on Maryland.[37]

While these high level manoeuvrings were taking place in London and Annapolis, the Maryland pilots were going about their business as usual. Samuel Middleton who ran a ferry from the Severn to Kent Island and also kept a tavern in Annapolis somehow found time to act as a pilot on the side.[38] Others were working not only in the Bay but also in the Chester and Sassafras Rivers [39] and one found it worthwhile to let all Maryland merchants and mariners know through the pages of the *Gazette* he was in business.

> Richard Bryan, *Pilot*, at Annapolis, will pilot ships from Annapolis into Patapsco, or from Patapsco to Annapolis at Three Pounds Currency each, and from Annapolis to Sassafras, North-East or Susquehanna, at Five Pounds each, and the same down again. And all Masters and Commanders of vessels may depend on his Care and Skill as he has been employed in that Business for Ten Years past, and never yet met with any Disaster. P. S. Any Commander who may want Piloting to Cape Henry shall be Piloted thither for Seven Pistoles.[40]

There was one late 18th century pilot about whom far too little is known. He was " Anthony Smith Pilot of S^{t} Marys." No trace of Smith can be found except that in 1776 Messrs Robert Sayer and John Bennett " Map & Chartsellers at N^{o} 55 in Fleet Street," London, published " A new and Accurate Chart of the *Bay of Chesapeake* . . . Drawn from several *Draughts* made by the most Experienced Navigators Chiefly from those of *Anthony Smith* Pilot of St. Marys." The chart to be sure leaned heavily on that drawn by Walter Hoxton about 1735, but much new material was added, and for the first time the Patapsco was charted with some degree of thoroughness. The Potomac, although it had received the attention of hydrographers before, was very carefully charted and even some of the plantations, such as " General Washington's," " Mr. Rozer's," " Col Fairfax " and " Col Addison's " are located. Of the details here " an Officer in the Royal Navy " noted on the chart itself, " These & all other Remarks, Additions,

[37] *Ibid.*, LV, 461, 663; LVI, 190; LIX, 387-338.
[38] *Maryland Gazette*, June 23, 1747.
[39] Hall of Records, Brice Notary Public Books, January 11, 1757.
[40] *Maryland Gazette*, April 10, 1755.

or Alterations which I have made were done upon the Spot and with the Assistance of My Pilot Anthony Smith of St Marys." We wish we could learn more of Pilot Smith who must have been a man of parts, for his Chart was reprinted in both American and French editions as well as English down to 1810.[41]

When the Revolutionary War came, the Maryland pilots were given greater responsibilities than the mere conning of privately owned merchant vessels. Much of the revenues for the conduct of the War came from the sale of tobacco and wheat in the French and Dutch West Indies and in Europe. The state itself owned the vessels, loaded them, and sent them abroad. During the early years of the War the Bay was largely controlled by the Royal Navy and Tory privateers. These as well as the shoals the pilots had to dodge. There was no getting off the vessels at the Capes and returning home: the pilot on State pay remained on board so that there would be no delay waiting for a pilot when the vessel came back loaded with gunpowder, muskets, clothing, and other munitions. Most of the pilots conducted themselves well, several were captured by the British and landed behind bars on the British prison ships. A few scalawags, like Joseph Whaland, of Deal's Island, Andrew McCurley of St. Mary's County and David Hunter of Calvert County, turned Tory and gave their services and knowledge to Lord Dunmore and other picaroons who raided the plantations along the Bay and River shore.[42] In the later days of the War the Maryland pilots aided the French fleet in the Bay both before and after Yorktown.[43] And when Rochambeau and Chastellux were preparing to embark their troops for the return to France, the Maryland Council of Safety wrote to the transport commodore that there was being sent a

> very good Pilot who wil be able to conduct, with the greatest Safety, your Transports to Baltimore. The usual Rate of Pilotage from hence [Annapolis] to Baltimore is twenty Dollars for conducting the first Vessel, and ten Dollars for each Vessel that may follow.[44]

During the War of 1812 there is very little record of the activities of the pilots. The British fleet was virtually in control of the Bay throughout the War, but Baltimore clipper privateers

[41] Copy in Library of Congress, Map Division.
[42] *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 202, 256, 263.
[43] *Ibid.*, XLVII, 504.
[44] *Ibid.*, XLVIII, 238. Winsor, *op. cit.*, VI, 745.

and letters of marque continuously were able to slip by the Royal Navy and get to sea. It is likely they carried their pilots along instead of dropping them at the Capes. On 4 February, 1813, it was reported from Norfolk that when two British 74-gun ships, three frigates and a tender entered the Bay: " they brought to a pilot boat and took pilots from her " but whether the boat was from Norfolk or Baltimore is not recorded.[45] Nor is there a record of those who conducted the British fleets up the Potomac or Patuxent Rivers.

The winning of the War for Independence gave Maryland more than freedom from the British Crown: the equally onerous proprietorship ended too. Once the pressing problems of organizing the Free State had been met, the General Assembly gave its attention to details and on November 5, 1787 passed " An Act to Establish Pilots and to Regulate Fees," the first act covering the Maryland pilots. The law set up a Board of Pilot Examiners composed of some of the most eminent shipping merchants in Baltimore.[46] They were to appoint a " register " and devise a seal; then, when organized, to publicly examine into the skill, ability and capacity of any who presented a court certificate of honesty and good behaviour and paid a fee of 30s. to the board and 5s. to the register. If the applicant passed the examination he was granted for one year a renewable branch (as the license is called) for one of three grades: the first grade covered vessels of any draft; the second, vessels drawing not over twelve feet; and the third, vessels of not over nine feet draft. A first branch pilot had to have three years experience piloting vessels of any draft or else have completed a four year apprenticeship. The Board had to keep a roll of pilots; it could make rules for the conduct of the profession and suspend or revoke the branch of any pilot who broke the rules. In 1790 Maryland created a second board of examiners with the same powers to take care of pilotage on the Potomac River. One of the merchants selected as a member of the first board was Benjamin Stoddert who later became the first Secretary of the Navy.[47]

Once a pilot had passed the examination, he was protected

[45] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, X, 184.

[46] J. T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 292.

[47] *Laws of Maryland*, 1787, ch. 26; 1790, ch. 27. See Baltimore *American*, March 26, 1807, for advertisement of examinations and license renewals.

against interlopers by a fine of £50 on those practising without a branch. On his part the pilot had to post a bond of £200 to guarantee faithful performance of his duties. He had to have a boat of 26 feet keel straight rabbit, decked and well found. On its stern, foresail and mainsail there had to be painted in large letters the vessel's name, home port and the number of the pilot's branch. In the use of the boat a pilot could take two licensed partners, and each pilot had to take a white apprentice. During the colonial period Maryland had pilots who were slaves. In fact, the first mention of a pilot in the laws of Maryland, province or state, allows a slave to hire himself as a pilot, the only work in which a slave could contract his labor without recourse to his master. Since the law gave this privilege only to those slaves who were pilots at the time the act was passed, the practise quickly ended.[48] When cruising, the Maryland pilot always had to offer his services to the vessel closest to land even though a more profitable charge was standing in. If a pilot lost a vessel his branch was revoked and if it were proved he had been negligent, the pilot had to pay all damages. If he ran a vessel ashore accidentally, the pilot could collect no fee; if the stranding were through his carelessness, the pilot paid the damages. Should a pilot come upon a vessel in distress and refuse to aid it, the pilot lost his branch forever, and should he attempt to make a salvage contract with such a vessel before rendering aid, the contract was void.[49]

In return for these obligations Maryland gave her pilots the right to collect a fee from all vessels of nine feet draft or over, or if his services were refused, he could collect half the fee, and if an unpiloted vessel followed in the wake of one under charge, the pilot could collect half fee from the follower. The law fixed the fee from the Capes to Baltimore at 8s. 9d. and back to 7s. 6d. for each six inches of draft. Or if the vessel went up the Potomac to Georgetown, the pilot collected one fifth more and the same back. Should the vessel touch at Hampton Roads there was added a fee of 30s. in and 20s. out or if at Annapolis 10s. per day's stay in harbor. When bad weather caught an outward vessel at the Capes and a first rate pilot was carried to sea, he collected monthly wages at £7. 10. 0 per month until his "return or death" if he owned a boat, and if not, £5. Should his boat have been waiting

[48] *Laws*, 1787, ch. 33.

[49] *Ibid.*, ch. 26.

and the pilot was willing to chance getting to her and still he was carried to sea, he then collected £100 and his monthly wage.

Altogether the law in 1787 was an excellent piece of legislation: it protected the pilot and the vessel owner alike and aside from an amendment in 1790 which forced all foreign vessels to take a pilot and pay one third greater fees, and another in 1793 when yellow fever was raging in Baltimore heavily penalizing a pilot who failed to report the arrival of an infection-bearing vessel, the law continued in force until 1852.[50]

In addition to watching over her own pilots, the safety of her trade and all Bay shipping, Maryland made an effort to protect the moral rights of the Virginia pilots as well. In section XX Maryland told her pilots they could not " undertake to conduct or pilot any vessel from sea and bound to any port in the state of Virginia " unless the vessel was picked up below the Horseshoe and no Virginia pilot was present to offer his services. If a Maryland pilot had to take charge of a Virginia bound vessel, he must turn her over to the first Virginia pilot who came along and the Maryland pilot could collect no fees whatsoever. The act continued by saying " it is expected that the legislature of Virginia will make a similar regulation as to vessels from sea and bound to some Maryland port." By this section Maryland made the first of many good-neighbor overtures to her minority partner in the waters of the Chesapeake. There is no record that Virginia through her governor or legislature even so much as acknowledged the offer,[51] and in fact, the Virginia legislature in 1794 prohibited a " pilot residing in another state " from working with a company of Virginia pilots.[52] But in 1801 the Maryland pilots were permitted to apply to the Virginia Board of Examiners for a branch, though the privilege was " not to be enjoyed " until Maryland passed a similar act in favor of the pilots of Virginia. Maryland ignored the gesture since by 1801 Maryland had far more trade than Virginia and the Virginia act was nothing more than an effort to get business for the lower Bay pilots.[53]

In 1803 Maryland repealed the law of 1787 with its 1790 and 1793 supplements and re-enacted all the parts into one law in-

[50] *Laws*, 1793, ch. 56.
[51] Virginia State Librarian to M.V.B., April 24, 1950.
[52] Virginia *Acts of Assembly*, 1794, ch. 167.
[53] *Ibid.*, 1801, ch. 277.

cluding the outstretched hand of section XX, simply changing the fees and fines from pounds, shillings and pence into dollars and cents. One section carried over from the 1790 supplement acknowledged the newly organized Federal government's right to regulate foreign and domestic commerce by stating that the law was to be effective only until the Federal government acted.[54] Uncle Sam displayed more courtesy than his eldest child had done for at the first session of the first Congress pilotage was left for the time being to the several states. But when on March 4, 1837, the Congress did act, perhaps with the Western rivers in mind, it permitted any pilot licensed by a state whose waterways touched upon another state to handle vessels in the water of the other regardless of his knowledge of the channels.

This, of course, gave legal sanction to Virginians piloting vessels up to Baltimore. The Maryland pilots stood for that for almost ten years seeing much of the business going into the pockets of men whose own home port had only one sixth as much entering trade. Then the Maryland pilots asked their legislature to request Congress to repeal its 1837 act. The legislature promptly made the request, but Congress failed to act upon it.[55]

At that time there were ninety-six branch pilots on the register, eighty-two qualified for handling vessels of any draft, eleven for twelve feet, and three for nine feet.[56] There were eight Baltimore boats and an uncounted number of other persons including apprentices directly dependent on the success of the profession. With the Virginia pilots charging whatever fees they could get, (never as much as the Maryland law fixed) the whole Maryland group was being put out of business. In 1852 the legislature repealed the 1803 act and passed a new law which in effect continued all of the earlier act save two sections. The hand of friendship offered to Virginia was withdrawn after 65 years of patient waiting. The other section dealt with fees. It gave the pilot the right to charge any " reasonable " fee.[57] Had the act stopped there the Maryland pilots at least could have competed with the Virginia pilots. But the legislature went further; it allowed any master or vessel owner to pilot his own craft, regardless of the size or the skipper's knowl-

[54] *Laws of Maryland*, 1803, ch. 48.
[55] Resolution No. 57 (*Laws of Maryland*, 1845).
[56] Broadside in Peale Museum, " List of Pilots."
[57] *Laws*, 1852, ch. 188.

edge of the Bay channel, and what skipper has yet lived who in his own secret heart did not believe all pilots were anything more than a bunch of legalized bandits? That ended the Maryland pilots. Up for sale went most of the boats and onto the beach went most of the men.

The few who continued in the profession refused to take the blow without a protest. First of all their charges on vessels owned or commanded by persons who had aided in securing the passage of the non-compulsory pilotage section were more than doubled while old friends were charged old fees. The owners of the ships *Annapolis* and *Seaman* refused to pay the charges and were brought into court, only to find that they not only had to pay the charges but had the cost of the suit to bear as well. Meanwhile all the old pilots were bombarding their legislature with protests.

At the next session of the Assembly a new act was passed which at least helped the pilots although it did more for the owner. A regular schedule of fees was restored—$5 per foot for a 15 foot draft vessel from sea to Baltimore or Georgetown. Pilotage was made compulsory except that the owner or master of a registered vessel or a licensed coaster could take his own craft up the Bay provided he paid six cents per ton burden to the Board of Examiners. The payment was good for a year. No pilot was required for any river except the Patapsco and Potomac. To help placate the pilots the six cents tonnage fee was divided quarterly among all the working pilots with provision for those sick or disabled. These crumbs were better than no bread at all. But more important, the pilots learned what could be accomplished by organized and coordinated activity and in 1852 they organized the Association of Maryland Pilots.[58]

This organization is in many ways similar to a gentleman's club. But few if any clubs are so exclusive in their membership, have so much responsibility, or receive such benefits. For admission, there is first a four year apprenticeship to be served; then a stiff examination to be passed. At one time the initiation fee was one thousand dollars for which the pilot received an undivided non-transferable share in the property of the Association. Once a member, each man took his turn conducting vessels down to the Capes where he was picked up by the boat then cruising and on her he

[58] *Laws*, 1853, ch. 214. *The Sun*, October 5, 1852.

waited his turn to bring up an inbound vessel. Should a pilot refuse to take his turn, he was fined by the Association. All the fees he received for his work were turned into the Association and once a month, after paying all the expenses of the Association including the costs of manning, victualling, and maintaining the boats, the remainder was divided among the pilots in accordance with their branches.[59] In addition to the regular pilotage fees, there were a few incidental earnings which were also divided. There were the fines on pilots who refused their turn (not much was collected for that reason); fines on vessels which illegally traversed the Bay without taking a pilot or paying tonnage; the sales of old rope, sails, etc., from the boats; each year, at least up to 1860, the pilots replaced damaged or put out new buoys in the channels, a service for which they were paid; and largest of all the incidental earnings: salvage of property. For instance, in May, 1858, Charles Nuthall paid the pilots $5. for a canoe evidently found adrift; in February, 1860, they were paid $150. for recovering the anchor and $75. for the hawser of the ship *Star;* in November, 1858, the accounts show "services rendered Schr *Neptune's Bride*, $765.00."[60] Each of these laconic bookkeeper's entries could doubtless tell a story were the facts fully known for the books of the Merchants Exchange Reading Room, (another organization of few words) concerning the last example record:

30 November 1858. Disaster—Schr *Neptune's Bride* at this port from New York, was fallen in with on Saturday last, off Cape Henry, by pilot boat *Coquette*, who on boarding her found 4½ feet water in the hold. She was supplied with six men who pumped her out and threw the deck load overboard. She reached this port yesterday.[61]

Life on board the pilot boats cruising off the Capes day in and day out was no yachtsman's junket, particularly in the days of sail. In the winter there were gales and ice to fight. Take two reports in January, 1837:

The pilot of the *Sterling* reports upon reaching Baltimore from the Capes, that the Pilot Boat *Tally Ho* was out to Sea on the 1st inst. and encountered a heavy gale from the N. W. and weather very cold. The

[59] Interview with Captain Presley Carter, President, and the late Captain John Thursby, Secretary, Association of Maryland Pilots.
[60] MS, Ledger, 1856-60, Association of Maryland Pilots.
[61] Maryland Historical Society, Books of Merchants Exchange ("Arrivals"), Nov. 30, 1858.

Boat was so much loaded with ice forward as to bring her down by the head and very much ice on deck, was afraid would have to run into the Gulph stream.[62]

Ten days later it was reported, " The Pilot Boats *Star* and *Tally Ho* arrived at Norfolk all safe, having been driven off into the Gulph and been out to sea 8 days." [63] In summer there were hurricanes and reports came back to Baltimore, " The Brig *Mary* for Madeira and Sch *Amethyst* went to Sea taking their pilots with them, the gale so severe that no boat could take them off."

On board the boats the pilots lived as well as any master mariners of the time. The account books show no shortages of foodstuffs purchased. There were barrels of beef (salt to be sure), bushels of onions, potatoes, cabbages, barrels of beans, flour, bags of coffee. There were turkeys at Christmas. The pilots themselves did very little of the boats' work except to command. There were hired hands, usually three to a boat, and a cook to do the routine work of " cruizing the boat " and practically all the repairs to sails, rigging, and hull were done by tradesmen in Baltimore. But day and night every pilot was subject to his turn, and no matter when or what might ask his services, and regardless of weather conditions, he had to go. The inbound vessel might be a floating palace; or she might be full of fleas, bedbugs, and scorpions; or, worse, she might be carrying small-pox or the plague. But whatever, dressed as if about to sit for a portrait to give his best girl, he picked up his little bag of gear, climbed over the side of the pilot boat into a yawl, and, with a couple of apprentices at the oars, was pulled over to the inbound vessel. A few hours later he might be in Baltimore ready to take down an outbound vessel; or if winds and tides were foul, if ice or a gale, or any one of the thousand things which might happen on the longest pilot run in United States waters occurred, the pilot might be as long as seventy-two days aboard that vessel.[64]

In 1866 an act of legislature required the Association to keep three pilot boats at sea at all times. One was to cruize fifteen miles to the North of Cape Henry; a second, ten miles East; and the third, fifteen miles South of the Cape. All foreign vessels and vessels registered in foreign trade had to take a pilot if his services

[62] *Ibid.*, January 14, 1837.
[63] *Ibid.*, January 24, 1837.
[64] *The Sun*, September 13, 1936.

were offered " before Cape Henry bears South," which gave skippers a sporting chance to show what turn of speed their craft could make. But seldom did they beat the pilot boats to the finish lines and win a prize of not paying pilotage.[65] Coasting vessels were exempt, and in 1896 to give a slight subsidy to colliers using Baltimore, thereby equalizing the charges of those using Newport News and Norfolk, all flying the United States flag were exempt from pilotage fees and requirements.[66] When the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was dredged to a depth which would allow seagoing vessels to enter and leave the Bay via " a back door," pilotage was extended to include the run between the canal mouth on Elk River and Baltimore. Today the canal is responsible for about 40% of the pilot's work.

Shortly before the formation of the Association in 1852 there had been eight Baltimore boats; *Comet, Selim* (named for a famous race horse) *Liberty, Henry Clay, Baltimore, Tally Ho, Pocahontas*, and *Constitution*, each with six pilots in partnership. They cruized from Cape Henlopen to Cape Hatteras looking for inbound craft, racing to get the job when more than one boat sighted it. Earnings then were divided " in the boat " in accordance with the partnership agreement of the boat's company. When a boat became worn out or slow the company replaced her. Thus the *Eclipse, Dart*, and *Canton* joined the squadron. After the organization of the Association it owned the *Canton, Boston, Coquette, Fashion, Invincible, Maryland, W. H. Silver*, and the last of the sailing pilot boats, the *Calvert*, built 1873. All of these were main topmast schooners, and their hulls bespoke the Baltimore Clipper in their clean sharp lines.[67] In 1880 the Association built the steamer *Pilot* said to be the first steam pilot boat used in the United States. But even with boilers and engines the pilots retained the fore and main masts of their schooners. With occasional refurbishing the *Pilot* stayed on duty until December, 1917. Other steam or motor vessels owned by the Association were the *Relief, Maryland*, 1885, a second *Maryland*, 1922, *William D. Sanner*, and *Baltimore* (ex *Vedette*), *Baltimore* (ex *Rene*), and *Felicia*. The last two named are the present pilot boats.

Even with powerful engines, radio, and all the modern gadgets,

[65] *Laws*, 1866, ch. 25.
[66] *Laws*, 1896, ch. 40.
[67] *The Sun*, May 26, 1907.

the work of today's pilots is not without its dangers. In 1917 the *Pilot* was run down and sunk by a Norfolk bound steamer and in 1938 the *William D. Sanner* was rammed by the British ship *Levernbank.* There were twenty-six men on board at the time, thirteen pilots and ten hands; somehow all managed to squeeze into the small boats and were picked up by the Virginia pilot boat.

For well over three hundred years, the pilots have guarded the commerce that is the life-blood of Baltimore. They have seen the Bay change from an unmarked, uncharted course, filled with dangers of shoal, fog, ice, collision, and gale to one with every imaginable aide to safe navigation. Their services are as necessary today as they were to Lord Baltimore's *Ark* and *Dove*, and it is unlikely any amount of radar, sonar, loran, lights, and buoys will ever displace the knowledge and skill of the human pilot.

Pictures, Plans, and Models of Pilot Boats

Since the Virginia pilot boat became in time a recognized type of watercraft, renowned for its speed, sea-keeping qualities, ability on the wind, and eventually developed into the Baltimore clipper, the boat itself is worthy of attention. Unfortunately little has come down to us concerning its early history or characteristics. It probably came into existence as such about 1700, but the first one specifically mentioned was a lost or stolen "Pilot-Boat, with Two masts, Twenty Four Foot Keel, Nine Foot Beam painted red . . ." advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* of July 15, 1737. From then on the pilot boat is frequently mentioned in the *Gazette*, but only two characteristics are apparent. First, the design was sufficiently different from that of the ordinary vessel to warrant mention; for example, John Table of Norfolk advertised "a new Boat on the stocks finished and ready for launching, is *built on the Pilot Boat construction* and of the following dimensions, 50 feet keel, 19 foot beam, 3 foot hold, moulded." And the other factor is that almost every pilot boat offered for sale or charter was said "to sail remarkably fast." Further evidence that the pilot boat had become a recognized type is found in the Virginia Act of 1762 which required each pilot to have a boat fitted and rigged "in the usual manner." But little else can be milked from the descriptions that have been found, and pictures, models, and plans are completely lacking until after the War for Independence.

The earliest pictures are two by G. Tobin probably painted in 1795. One is an engraving published in the *Naval Chronicle*, 1815, after Tobin's original: "A Virginia Pilot-Boat, with a distant view of Cape Henry at the entrance of the Chesapeak" depicting the *Mary* of Norfolk. The second is a water color in the National Maritime Museum: "The Thetis Careened and Repairing at Gosport, Virginia" in which is shown the

pilot boat *Hamilton* of Norfolk. A third pilot boat, the *Ann* of Norfolk, was drawn by J. Rogers, 1825, in a colored lithograph, "A Virginia Pilot-Boat Getting Underway," a copy of which is owned by The Mariners' Museum. The identification of the boat is positive because the pictures show it had complied with a Virginia law of 1791 which required each boat to have her name and home port painted on the foresail in letters at least nine inches high. It is interesting that these boats, two of 1795 and the third of 1825, are almost identical in appearance and that they are also close to the actual plans of other Virginia and Maryland pilot boats of both earlier and later days. This indicates that the craft had developed its characteristics fully by 1795 and changed very little for a considerable period. Three other pictures of Bay pilot boats, before photography became general, are known to exist. A primitive but none the less accurate oil painting of the schooner *York* of Baltimore, now in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. The painting is undated but it is probably of the period 1860-1865 and shows some changes in appearance from the earlier boats. The *York* judging by the figures of the crew was a larger, more heavily built schooner, and the presence of a long head gives her more the look of a commercial vessel than a pilot boat. A second, equally primitive, is the *Commerce* of Baltimore of about 1850. There is an undated photograph of two unidentified pilot schooners in the Peale Museum, and Mr. W. C. Steuart has a photograph of the schooner *Calvert*, the last Maryland sailing pilot boat. The Association of Maryland Pilots has pictures of all the steam and motor propelled vessels. Doubtless there are other representations of pilot boats extant: paintings, drawings, or photographs, which it is hoped will come to light.

Of the working drawings of Bay pilot boats at least five are known. One of these is a schooner named the *Courieuse* which appears to have been purchased by a British consul to carry dispatches warning a British squadron of the presence of a French fleet on the American coast. Her lines were taken off by the Admiralty and are now in the National Maritime Museum. The second is another drawing made by the Admiralty, "H.M.S. *Swift* (was Virginia pilot-boat) 1803," the title of the drawing informs us. The third, made about 1820 by a French naval architect Marestier, is reproduced in his *Memoire sur Les Bateaux a Vapeur des Etats-Unis* . . . (Paris, 1824). The fourth appears in John Knowles, *Naval Architecture* (London, 1822) and is titled "*Virginia Pilot Schooner.*" The fifth is the schooner *Lafayette*, whose lines were put on paper by the United States Naval Constructor Francis Grice in 1837. Plans of no later craft appear to be known, but builders' half-models of two, and possibly a third, exist. The Maryland Historical Society owns a rigged sailor's model of a pilot schooner.

THE CAREER OF JOHN SEYMOUR, GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1704–1709

By Charles B. Clark

THOUGH John Seymour served as the Chief Executive of Maryland for five years, appears in contemporary records, and is mentioned in histories of Maryland and of the American Colonies, no account of his life and career has appeared in print. Seymour seems typical of the governors of Maryland during the royal period, 1692-1715, when Lord Baltimore lost all but his land rights in Maryland. It was a period when a marked change in the constitutional character of the government of the province took place.[1] The lower branch of the Assembly was gradually assuming greater powers while at the same time disputing and attempting to curtail those exercised by the royal governor. The Assembly " was the school in which the assertion of liberty found experience, and wherein was obtained the training which, two generations later, showed the freemen of the American colonies qualified to take their part as the legislators of an infant nation." [2]

Little is known of Seymour prior to his appointment as governor of Maryland. His specific qualifications are not known, although his experience seemed to fit him for the early 18th century concept of a colonial governor. A native of England, he had served for thirty years in the British military organization. He was a married man and was survived at the time of his death in 1709 by his wife, two sons, and a daughter. Seymour's son Berkley, following his father's death, petitioned the Queen for a " moiety " or portion of the duties collected from ships sailing from Maryland at the

[1] Clayton C. Hall, *The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate* (Baltimore, 1902), p. 135. For a short, concise presentation of the royal period, see Charles B. Clark (ed.), *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* (New York, 1950), I, 251-263.

[2] Hall, *loc. cit.*

time of his father's death. Berkley pointed out the need of his father's heirs and of the necessity of paying debts and legacies. This petition, along with other evidence, indicates that Seymour was not a wealthy man.[3]

As one would suspect in the case of a public official, opinion on Seymour is divided among those who have learned something about him. The historian Herbert L. Osgood [4] has observed that the comments which Seymour made when transmitting laws to England indicate he had more than ordinary knowledge of the law and described him as a proud, assertive, and self-important man and a strong supporter of the Protestant Church. He was indeed an unrelenting foe of the Catholic Church. A writer on religious toleration in Maryland states that Seymour's administration " was especially notable for its impudent intolerance." [5] He added that the " name of Governor Seymour will go down in Maryland history with little that is manly and honorable attached to it." [6]

The first official mention of Seymour was made in a communication on January 7, 1703, from the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State, to the Council of Trade and Plantations, hereafter referred to as the Board. It read: " The Queen commands me to acquaint you that shee has appointed Col. John Seymour to be governor of Maryland, and would therefore have you prepare a draught of such instructions, as you shall judge necessary on this occasion and present the same to H. M." [7] Four days later Seymour presented a letter to the Board acquainting " their Lordships that H. M. has been pleased to appoint him to be Governor of Maryland," etc.[8] Directions were thereby given for his Commission and instructions. Prepared accordingly, they were read and agreed upon by the Board. Instead of bothering to draw up a new

[3] For Berklev Seymour's petition see *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies* (London, 1860-1936), XXV, 79, 161, and XXVI, 20. For a short sketch of Seymour, see *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1897), VII, 335.

For a few miscellaneous letters written by Seymour, most of which may also be found in the *Archives of Maryland* and the *Calendar of State Papers*, see Seymour Papers, Marvland Historical Society. This manuscript collection was purchased in 1937 by the Society through the Peabody Institute from Maggs Brothers in London. It was restored and bound in 1947 by the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maryland.

[4] *American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1924), II, 199.

[5] William T. Russell, *Maryland: The Land of Sanctuary* (Baltimore, 1907), p. 376.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 390.

[7] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXI, 106.

[8] *Ibid.*, XXI, 112, 118, 121.

set, instructions which had been prepared for other colonial governors were duplicated with a few variations to suit the Maryland situation. A few lines from the lengthy instructions will give an idea of Seymour's powers:

> He is to take the oaths and test, which the Council are to administer . . . and he is to administer the same to each Councillor. He is empowered to suspend Members of the Council, and also Lieutenant Governors and appoint others, pro tem. Five [changed to three] Councillors shall form a quorum. Vacancies in the Council are to be signified by the first opportunity, but the Governor is empowered to make the number up to seven [changed to nine], pro tem. He is empowered to summon Assemblies of Freeholders and Planters, the laws made by them, with the advice and consent of the Governor and Council, to be transmitted to the King within three months under the Public Seal for approbation or disallowance. The Governor to enjoy a negative voice in the passing of all laws, etc., and to adjourn, prorogue or dissolve the Assembly as he thinks fit. He is entrusted with the Great Seal, the administration of oaths, the erection of Courts of Judicature, the commissionating of persons to administer oaths . . . the power of pardoning offenders other than traitors and murderers . . . power . . . to erect a Court Admiral and to be Vice-Admiral; to appoint captains, etc., of ships, with commissions to execute martial law in time of war, but without jurisdiction over H. M. ships. All public moneys to be issued by warrant from the governor with consent of the Council. He is empowered to dispose of lands under moderate quitrents, and to appoint fairs, ports, and custom houses. . . . Upon his death or absence, the Council to take the administration of the government and the first councillor to preside.[9]

This commission was signed on February 12, 1703, and sent to Colonel Seymour three days later with a notation which read: "With these our instructions you will receive our commission under the great seal of Great Britain, constituting you our Captaine General and Governor in Chief in and over our Province and Territory of Maryland in America." [10] Prior to the issuance of these instructions, the Board on January 26, 1703, had ordered that the President and Council of Maryland be informed of Seymour's appointment and of his projected early departure for the colony. On the same day, Colonel Nathaniel Blakiston, former royal Governor of Maryland (1698/9–1702) and now an agent for Maryland in England, attended with Colonel Seymour the Board meeting in connection with affairs of Maryland. On February 1 they attended

[9] *Ibid.*, XVII, 213; XXI, 118, 194.
[10] Leonard W. Labaree (ed.), *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670-1776* (New York, 1935), I, 7.

another Board meeting at which the third Lord Baltimore was present in connection with his land rights in Maryland.[11]

Colonel Seymour, however, was not to arrive in Maryland for several months. His instructions were changed and augmented several times. On March 11 a new set of instructions for him were sent to the Queen for approval. They listed the Maryland Council members, made provision for the Governor's salary, and allowed appeals from inferior courts to the Governor and Council and on to Her Majesty in Privy Council if the case involved over £300 sterling and if appeal were made within fourteen days after sentence. The appellant was to give good security and execution of the sentence could not be suspended by reason of the appeal to the Privy Council. But rather than encourage appeals, Seymour was instructed to have a law in Maryland to limit the number of appeals to the Governor and Council.[12]

On March 8 Governor Seymour presented a memorial to the Board relating to the charge of his transportation and requesting extracts from the office dealing with allowances made to former governors for the same purpose.[13] Colonel Blakiston prepared a letter for Seymour to carry to Maryland which introduced him as Blakiston's " old friend & worthy Acquaintance." It assured the Maryland Assemblymen of Blakiston's great veneration for them and of his desire for their ease and government, specifying that " if itt had been att my owne Election, I could not haue wished you a person of more strict honour and justice, and the best naturall Disposition you would hope for." Blakiston was " very well assured " that they would " receiue the same blessing " from Seymour and whatever " Marks of favour you will shew him he will truely meritt itt." [14] Because of Seymour's delay in sailing, however, the letter was sent to Maryland by other hands. On October 27, 1703, Thomas Tench, President of the Maryland Council, informed his fellow members and the Assemblymen that Blakiston suggested that they be convened before winter in order to meet and congratulate Seymour upon his arrival, the date of which was

[11] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXI, 158, 152, 171-172. The proprietor's land rights were not taken from him when he lost other rights and powers during the royal period.

[12] *Ibid.*, XXI, 250. These instructions were approved by the Council on March 20, 1703. *Ibid.*, 280.

[13] *Ibid.*, XXI, 241, 242.

[14] *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 362.

uncertain.[15] That same day Tench reported to Blakiston that the Maryland Council was delighted at the prospect of Seymour's arrival.[16] In the same month of October Sir Thomas Lawrence, Secretary of Maryland, wrote to the Board that upon returning to Maryland from New York he had proceeded via Virginia in hopes of " meeting H. E. Coll. Seymour, our governor, and of attending him to Maryland, but as yet we have no news of that fleet. . . . " [17]

Seymour's explanation of his delay is the most interesting. On May 23, 1704, he wrote to England: " It was Aprill 10 ere a most uncomfortable, tedious winter passage of neare 7 months (in which wee were for a long tyme reduced to ye poor allowance of one pint of water each day) permitted my arrival here on H. M. S. Dreadnought." [18] In the meantime the British Board of Trade and Plantations had become quite anxious about his arrival. On February 16, 1704, they had addressed him that " We expect to hear shortly of your arrival in Maryland, and that you have found all things in good order there: we have not had anything before us relating to that Province since your departure. . . . " The Board wrote to Seymour again on March 17 and a third time on May 23 before hearing from him. The last letter read: " Since ours of March 17, we have heard from Sir Bevill Granville that you have been forced from the coast of Virginia to Barbadoes, and giving us an account of the hardships you had undergone, for which we are heartily sorry. And we hope that long before this you are safely arrived in your government." [19]

Maryland's new governor had thus reached the seat of his government fifteen months after his appointment and seven months after his departure from England. There is no account that he ever revisited England and doubtless the nature of his westward voyage influenced this. Once in Maryland, Seymour lost no time settling down to business. On April 12 he summoned the Council and had his commission read while those present " payd all due Obedience thereto." The next step consisted of administering the various oaths to the Governor and then to the Council, qualifying everybody by the process. The Governor then expressed a desire to meet the General Assembly and it convened on April 26. The

[15] *Ibid.*, 314.
[16] *Ibid.*, 316.
[17] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXI, 767-768.
[18] *Ibid.*, XXII, 133. Another account says he arrived on April 11, *ibid.*, 141-142.
[19] *Ibid.*, XXII, 42, 80, 135.

House was described as a " very thinn one, their mercantile affairs in so great an hurry and the staple of this Province being so much later than that of Virginia, necessarily requiring everybody's presence at home to dispatch their respective concerns therein." These concerns were called England's as well, since they dealt with tobacco, other products, and shipping.[20]

Since the Assembly had been called three years earlier under the authority of King William, Seymour decided not to make any more use of it than necessary.[21] He addressed the Council and Assembly jointly, stating that since Her Majesty had been " Graciously pleased to entrust " him with the governorship he thought it proper to acquaint them that he had long served the crown with a " Dutifull Fidelity " and had always been a true lover of his country under its " Noble constitution in church & State." Seymour announced that " To a truely honest man of what perswasion so ever my Ears and Bosom too shall be ever open, for good Moralls will always haue a just Esteem in my friendship, and a well grounded sincerity shall never be denyed a rightfull Clayme to my Protection." He would lend his " concurrent assistance in Every thing that has vertue and religion at bottom," knowing that the Queen allowed a " free Tolleraon to all her Protestant Subjects, within this Province." He assured them that " Dureing my Administration here I'le doe my utmost to advance the Interest and Reputation of this Colonny, and protect Every inhabitant within itt in his lawfull rights, and Immunityes." Seymour then brought up a subject that will become very familiar. He said that inasmuch as they could not " think the Place where I am att present a healthy situation, or a place fitt for agent that bears a Publick Character " he hoped they would not think him " unreasonable craving to putt you in mind her Majesty is willing to haue some place built, and sett apart for her Governour here." He said it would be a lasting token of their regard for the dignity of his commission and would be an ornament to the province as well as a satisfaction to those who should succeed him. He had not been well provided for, having been domiciled in a rented house so urgently in need of repair that he appealed for funds to make it temporarily livable. Seymour closed his address by stating that

[20] *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 327-328, XXV, 173-174; *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 133, 141.

[21] *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 328-329.

Marylanders were very fortunate indeed to be subjects of Queen Anne.[22]

Seymour next proceeded to have the royal instructions read and requested the "answer and assistance" of the Assembly. Whereupon the Assemblymen informed the new Governor:

> Wee haue read and deliberately considered of what your Excellency was pleased to say to us att the opening of this sessions, and wee are well Satisfied that you haue long and faithfully serued the Crowne, like a true English Gent, & that giues us the full Assurance that you will continue to doe soe, in being a good and Just Governor to us, and that Every man of honesty & good moralls will find itt.[23]

Indicating at once an eagerness to work harmoniously with the legislators, Seymour sent them this response: "Yours . . . I have rec'd with a due sense of your ready and hearty recognition of her Most Sacred Majesty, and respect to my selfe, for which I returne you my hearty thanks, and will always endeavour to preserue among you, the good Esteem you conceiue of me. . . ."[24]

Harmony prevailed—the Governor, the Council, and the Assembly appeared cooperative and entirely satisfied with each other. The first session of the Assembly under Seymour lasted from April 26 to May 3, 1704, and, though short, made some progress in the affairs of government. As instructed, it passed an act of recognition of the Queen. Then, having explicit orders to rewrite the laws of Maryland, the matter was taken up for short consideration. Foreseeing that creating order and understanding out of previously enacted legislation would be a time-consuming task, the good lawmakers decided to table the problem and proceeded to that of provincial defense as a more pressing concern.[25]

Instructions stated that "all Planters and Christian servants" were to be "well and fittly provided with arms," adequately trained, and kept in readiness for any emergency that might arise. Seymour had discovered, however, that the militia was "very ill regulated and unserviceable." The Assembly therefore revived an act of June 8, 1699, which called for the enlistment of all males from ages sixteen to sixty. These men were to equip themselves and be trained whenever necessary at designated places. For any

[22] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 328-329, 357-358.
[23] *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 335, 329-335, 361.
[24] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 337.
[25] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 339-341, 409.

refusal to cooperate in this program, each enlisted man or his "Master Mistress or Overseer," if responsible, should be fined one hundred pounds of tobacco. "Horse forces," with "Trumpetts and Coulers" to accompany them, were to be raised also. The Province was to bear all expenses while actual service was being rendered. Negroes and slaves were to be exempt from training or other military service. Widows and wounded soldiers were to receive pensions, and a detailed scale of pay for soldiers and officers was worked out. But even this extensive system did not satisfy Seymour. He felt that the principles of some people, like Quakers, and the poverty of others unable to provide arms and munitions for themselves would cause the plan to break down. He reported to England that he would attempt to strengthen the defense in a manner that would place less burden upon the people and not compel them to neglect their "mayne affaire of cropps." [26] He promised to send as early as possible an account of all arms, ammunition, and stores that came to Maryland from the London ordinance office and of those otherwise purchased by Maryland. Likewise he would see that storehouses were erected throughout the Province. The Governor closed by reporting that the Assembly was cold to the suggestion that a general survey of the Province should be taken for the purpose of disclosing every county landing place and harbor. Nor did they warm up to the idea of erecting new harbors and fortifications, but Seymour said he would keep pushing these projects.[27]

A matter of great concern to Seymour from the beginning and which came in for attention during the first session of the Assembly under him was his salary. In Maryland, revenue raised by the tax of two shillings on each hogshead of exported tobacco amounted to about £3,200 in 1701. Of this amount, £1,600 belonged to the Proprietor and the other £1,600 was to be applied by the Assembly to the expenses of government. Of the latter amount, £400 was used to buy arms and the remaining £1,200 went toward the governor's salary. An additional three pence per hogshead had also been levied to raise the governor's compensation under Governor Blakiston. This extra levy was expected to raise about £500 additional salary a year and helped to offset the

[26] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 133-134; *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 415; *ibid.*, XXII, 562-567.

[27] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 133-134.

absence of a mansion for the governor. The Council had secured permission from the Queen to handle the Governor's salary in this manner. Comparatively, the Maryland governor with a salary in money of £1700 was well paid. The Governor of New York was receiving only £600, with an attempt being made to double it. Seymour's salary was better than that of any British colonial governor except the governor-in-chief of Jamaica who received £2,500 a year.[28]

In following up the salary question, Governor Seymour had trouble shortly after his arrival with Thomas Tench, who had presided over Maryland as a member of the Maryland Council during the interim prior to Seymour's arrival. Seymour related to the Board that Tench, " being a craving person and not satisfyed with the advantage of the best part of 1,000 l. ster. (which my ill fortune in being so long in my passage hither presented him with) . . . insists upon a moyety " of the tax on tobacco on board ship, but not shipped, at the time Seymour arrived. Seymour pleaded with the Board not to allow Tench this money. Blakiston, agent for Maryland, told the Board that Tench's demands were unreasonable and that he possessed no right to such a moiety since the ships were not cleared until after Seymour's arrival. The Board concurred, replying: " As to Mr. Tench's pretensions of having one half of the 12*d.* per hogshd. of such tobacco as was cleared after your [Seymour's] arrival, we can by no means think it reasonable, and we doubt not but you will take care accordingly." [29]

Seymour, in this same report to England, included a statement that the Secretary of the Province, Sir Thomas Lawrence, " finding himself much impaired in his health, and uneasye in his office," and having been denied the continuation of his ordinary licenses by the Assembly, desired to return to England, leaving a well qualified person or deputy in his office. Seymour was forwarding official papers by Lawrence, including copies of laws passed by the Assembly.[30] Acts passed and not mentioned above provided for such action as the naturalization of three new inhabitants, for the sale of lands of a deceased resident of Talbot County and of

[28] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXI, 367-368; Labaree, *op. cit.*, I, 254-256; *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 329-330, 358-359.

[29] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 134, 238. *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, April 1704–February 1708-9* (London, 1920), p. 37.

[30] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 135. For detailed descriptions of these acts, see *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 409, 423.

a man from Somerset County in order to cover their debts, and for the revival of an act limiting officers' fees, for the revival of an act for quieting differences that might arise between the inhabitants and the Indians.

In acknowledging the Governor's letter and public papers, the Board expressed satisfaction that Seymour had finally reached Maryland safely after the " fatigues of so tedious and dangerous a voyage." Regarding the militia's poor state, the Board ordered that Quakers who would not bear arms must " by money or otherwise substitute other persons to perform that duty in their stead." For inhabitants who could not afford arms, the same should be provided " out of the fund of 3 d. per hhd." Also an adequate sum should be kept on hand with which to purchase arms in England through Blakiston.[31]

Seymour, at the end of the first legislative session, had made a good impression not only in England, but in Maryland. On May 1 the Council and Assembly wrote jointly to Blakiston: " The character you are pleased to giue of our present governor John Seymour Esquire, wee find verifyed in fact, and esteem our selues extreamely happy in his Excy, & belieue wee shall dayly haue cause more and more soe to doe." [32] Seymour, for his part, expressed satisfaction with the Council and Assembly, thanking them for himself and in the name of the Queen for their " hearty Endeavours." Except for wishing they could have remained in session longer to tackle some of the other urgent matters, he had not " the least reason to be Dissatisfyed " with their proceedings.[33]

The Governor was now ready for a temporary change of scenery and on June 6, 1704, he informed the Council that on or about the 13th he planned to " take a Short Journey to the Northward " for the double purpose of conferring with Governor Cornberry of New York and for the " preservation " of his health since Maryland's " hott Sultry weather " seemed to disagree with him. Leaving instructions in case of emergency, the Governor was off with the approval of the Council.[34]

The second legislative session of Maryland under Governor Seymour, from September 5 to October 3, 1704, was one of the

[31] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 237-238.
[32] *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 393.
[33] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 408.
[34] *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 176.

most important of his five and a half years of administration. He advised the Assembly that there were many weighty matters to be dealt with and warned them against any " Sly Insinuations (that ill grounded Jealousies may foment to the disadvantage of the publick) [which] should render what her Majesty most graciously designed for your welfare and happy Establishment ineffectuall." Then, as a " plain Dealer " he sought their cooperation in enacting " good wholesome Laws," and asked them to check " any clandestine machination levelled against your Constitution." He then blasted members of the Established Church as well as dissenters and Catholics for licentiousness, profanity, and " breaking the Lord's Day." He could not " but take notice that the many domestick Immoralityes within this province are great Scandals to the Religion we profess." Laws were being defied, and there were " Unwarrantable practises Scarce ever heard of in civilized countries." Good laws must be passed and then enforced to cope properly with the situation. Virtue and religion must be restored as guiding lights to make the Province flourish. Seymour next spoke of the " Illness " of the house provided for him, referring to it as the only thing that had made him uneasy since his arrival. If Assemblymen felt he deserved no better, he would somehow make himself satisfied. With a final charge to work harmoniously, thereby favorably impressing the Mother Country, other colonies, and the people they represented, Seymour closed his address.[35]

On September 8 Governor Seymour presented the Assembly with royal instructions for revising Maryland's body of laws. The Assembly buckled down to work and passed over seventy acts before adjourning on October 3. There was an act to encourage the importation of rum, sugar, Negroes, and other commodities, while another imposed a tax on " Rumm Spiritts Wines and Brandy " brought from Pennsylvania. The sale of liquor to Indians was prohibited in their towns. Such routine problems received attention as improvement of highways, the speedy trial and punishment of criminals, the prevention of the " growth of popery," the relief of creditors, and the prohibition of excessive usury.[36]

Prior to the meeting of the next Assembly, Maryland passed through a series of troubles. One authority described the year 1704 as one " somewhat disturbed by a conspiracy of discontented

[35] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 27-29, 101-103.
[36] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 36-39, 220-367, 94, 119.

debtors and others who attempted with the aid of the negroes and Indians, to seize the government, in order to discharge their incumbrances by assuming the administration." [37] The climax of a bad year occurred on October 17 when the Capitol at Annapolis was burned. Some other buildings, including the provincial court house, were also burned. Despite the fact some arrests were made, arson was never proven although strongly suspected.

On the day following the fire, Governor Seymour called a meeting of all available members of the Assembly to consider this " Sad Occasion." He proposed that some place be found to lodge records that had been saved and to serve as a meeting place of the Provincial and County Courts. Records ultimately were lodged in the " ffree schoole " where shelves were built to accommodate them. Commissary records were ordered lodged on the back porch of the school which was to be " made Tight." It was then resolved that a " Day of Humiliation " be set aside. The Council designated November 29 and directed that a report should be made on that day of all land and provincial records saved. Meanwhile, all the clerks in town were to assist in sorting and checking the records to determine which ones were missing. Temporarily, the remains of the brick building should be " Secured by under propping and Shoaring or otherwise as workmen Shall advise." The " forty foot house " of Colonel Edward Dorsey next to the Capitol Hill was to be rented at £20 a year for the Assembly meeting and for sessions of the Provincial and county courts.[38] The governor and the council met in the Treasury Building. In order to prevent future fires, especially in the public buildings, a " Trusty Sober person [should] be appointed to go about the Towne at Eight of the Clock and Tenn of the Clock every Night in the Winter to Warne people to have a care of their ffires and to take into his Custody and bring before a Magistrate any Disorderly persons." The watchman's salary was to be £10 a year.[39]

The Loss of the Capitol was a particularly bitter dose, inasmuch as only five years had elapsed since it had been partly destroyed by lightning while the lower house was in session on July 13, 1699.

When the legislature met in December, 1704, Governor Seymour advised the body as follows:

[37] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879) I, 375.
[38] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 391-392. The assembly was to be summoned by the beating of a drum.
[39] *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 180-181.

Since the unhappy Accident your Court House & some of our Laws burnt has induced this present Meeting of the Country his Excellency thought it might conduce to the obviating the publick Charge of detaining the Session for the Transcribing (some being very long) to have the Bills which were read in the House sent for from the late Speaker's House in Charles County & having ordered them to be transcribed against your Meeting they are with the original Draught of the said Bills herewith recommended to your Consideration for the reenacting thereof if you see fit."

The Governor then spoke more clearly and took the legislators to task in this manner: " The late melancholy Accident might have been prevented, had my often Admonition took place, for I never yet saw any publiq building left Solely to Providence but in Maryland. I hope this sad experiment will awaken your Care for the time to come." Seymour left the rebuilding entirely up to them. He recommended in conjunction with the Council that the Lower House send for " four or five small water engines and twenty leather buckets " which " may be hung up in the Court House and ready upon any such unhappy occasion." The Governor next advised the lawmakers to avoid all " Heats and Misconstructions," and to strive " Joyntly and heartily, to serve the Country the best & most judicious way . . . and oppose whatever may be Imagined prejudiciall to it. . . . " [40]

The Council, in reply to the Governor's message, stated their aim was that of the English Crown and that they would avoid all jealousies and work for the good of the Province. The Lower House gave the same promise and indicated their intention of rebuilding the Capitol at once. During this short session fourteen acts were passed. Most of them were of routine character. The most important was the act for rebuilding the Capitol. Complete details for this structure were specified. It was to cost one thousand pounds sterling, or the equivalent in " Dollars or pieces of Eight at four Shillings and six pence a piece as they now pass within this Province." Walls which had remained standing and the foundation were to be used again. The architect of this and other public buildings, William Bladen, was compelled to give " good security to his Excellency the Governour of two thousand pounds Sterl to perform the same within Eighteen months." [41]

The fourth session of the Maryland Assembly under Governor

[40] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 395, 371-375, 390-391.
[41] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 375, 394-395, 427-428.

Seymour was originally set for May 15, 1705, but it was May 17 before any progress was made. Rainy weather, the late arrival of many delegates, and the illness of the Speaker all contributed to the delay. In his opening address on the 17th, the Governor at once complained: " Tis very Evident the Treasonable Villanous practices of some Amongst us has encouraged the Indians to Comitt their Barbaritys on our fellow subjects " by informing them that the Colony was insufficiently armed and by contriving to bring about an open rebellion. An investigation was in order, he felt, for Maryland was threatened by " all Sorts of Enemies abroad, & Villains in our owne Bowells " who would " enervate & unhinge " their constitution. Unless these disturbances were crushed an open rebellion might result.[42]

Among the laws enacted in this short session was one providing for the relief of Anne Arundel County and for all persons adversely affected by the loss of records in the Capitol fire. Instructions were given to resurvey the County and to readjust land titles lost in the fire. Another act concerned one Richard Clark of Anne Arundel County. According to a statement made under oath to the Assembly, Clark and his accomplices had hatched a " very wicked and treasonable conspiracy . . . to Seize upon the Magazine and upon his Excellency the Governour and overturn her Majesties Government and to bring the heathen Indians together with the said Conspirators to Cutt off and Extirpate the Inhabitants of this Province." Clark had evaded capture and the law provided that unless he surrendered to the governor or to a council member to be tried for treason within twenty days after the Assembly session ended he should " by force and virtue of this Act . . . be Outlawed and shall forfeit his good and Chattells Lands and Tenements as an out lawed Pson." The records mention villainous Clark frequently, for he was the subject of much concern. He and Benjamin Celie were said to " lye out from the Inhabitants and ride armed threatening the Death of Several of her Majestys good Subject here and putting the Inhabitants in Terrour of their Lifes and Robing their houses." [43] The Council had offered ten pounds reward to anyone capturing Clark or/and Celie. The former in particular was wanted in connection with the afore-

[42] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 439-441, 475-477.
[43] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 506-518; XXV, 185.

mentioned plot to seize the government and for questioning about the burning of the Capitol.

The May, 1705, session also acted to prevent a breach of peace between the neighboring Indians and the inhabitants of the Province, and provided for the punishment of persons who should "take Entice Surprize sell or transport or cause to be Sold or transported out of this province Or Otherwise dispose of Any friend Indian or Indians whatsoever . . . without license from the Gouernour." [44]

The Assembly was prorogued on May 25, 1705, and met again on April 2, 1706. Meanwhile, on July 3, 1705, Seymour wrote to the Board in England for the first time since September 29 of the previous year.[45] He reported much progress in the revision and reenactment of laws and commented upon other problems, such as his conflict with Roman Catholics. Paradoxically, he was accused by a "Renegado Romish priest" of being a "favourer of papists and governed by them," but the Assembly had taken public action to do him justice. Actually, Seymour was anything but a friend of the Roman Catholic Church. Shortly after his arrival in Maryland in 1704 he had delivered a stinging rebuke to two Catholic priests, Robert Brooke and William Hunter, who were charged with saying mass in the Chapel at St. Mary's. The priests were ordered to cease their priestly activities and to remember that they were on sufferance as undesirables. The Governor warned them that he was an "English Protestant Gentleman" who could never equivocate, and admonished them thus:

> It is the unhappy temper of you and all your tribe to grow insolent upon civility. . . . You might methinks be content to live quietly as you may and let the Exercise of your Superstitious Vanities be confirmed to yourself without proclaiming them at publick places unless you expect by your gawdy shows and Serpentine Policy to amuse the multitude and beguile the unthinking weakest part of them an Act of Deceit well Known to be amongst you.[46]

Seymour ordered the Sheriff to seal the Chapel and keep the key. Then, warning the priests against an additional offense, he stated that he would not have been so lenient in the aforementioned case had not it been their first effense. The Assembly took

[44] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 523.
[45] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 552-553, 681.
[46] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 196; *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 44-46.

action also, passing a law in September, 1704, which subjected any bishop, priest, or Jesuit who should say mass or administer the rites of the Church within the province to a fine of fifty pounds and imprisonment for six months.[47] In discussing this act, the Reverend Dr. Francis L. Hawks remarked:

> The enactment enforced a gross violation of the best feelings of human nature: it forbade a parent to fulfil the first duty which he owed his offspring, that of instruction; and dissolving filial obligation, offered to a wayward child, a premium for youthful hypocricy [*sic*]. He who can speak of such a law in any terms but those of indignant reprobation, deserves, himself, to endure all its penalties.[48]

Hawks was writing in a more enlightened day when religious oppression, although not dead, was far less common. The Act of 1704, however uncalled for by today's standards, must be measured in the light of the day in which enacted. Actually it was relaxed somewhat through the influence of the Queen three months after its passage to allow celebration of mass in private families. Out of this privilege grew the practise of building chapels alongside the dwellings of Catholic families or connected to them as at Doughoregan Manor, the home of Charles Carroll of Carrollton in what is now Howard County.[49]

Seymour, although seemingly sincere, was perverse in all matters relating to religion. Even before his arrival in Maryland he had indicated that he was antagonistic to any administration over the Anglican Church in Maryland other than his own. He violently disapproved of the appointment of a commissary with authority when Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray made the request. Apparently fearing that Rev. Dr. Bray was trying to take advantage of him, Seymour "flew into a passion" and stated several times he would have no commissary in Maryland.[50] Mereness concluded that "Unfortunately for the future of the Church, Seymour was one of those incompetent war governors, so common in the royal provinces." Some plan of control over the Anglican clergy re-

[47] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 340-341.

[48] Francis L. Hawks, *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States of America* (New York, 1839), II, 26.

[49] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 591-592, 597-598, 630-631, 44-45, 159-160; *ibid.*, XXVII, 147-148.

[50] Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland As a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1901), p. 441; Theodore C. Gambrall, *Church Life in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1885), pp. 80-81.

mained necessary, however, and the Assembly proposed the erection of an ecclesiastical court in 1708. The court was to consist of three clergymen, three laymen, and the Governor, and was to have jurisdiction even to the limit of suspending ministers from their functions. The Maryland clergy, of course, were greatly opposed to such a court and entered immediate protest with the Bishop of London. The law, passed by the Assembly, was not confirmed by Seymour on the grounds that he had not received instructions from London on the matter.[51]

The matter of religion and morals continued to aggravate Seymour, as witnessed by his address to the Assembly on November 29, 1708, in which he stated:

> And now Gent. Give me leave to tell you It is high Time for you that represent the whole Province to look into the many immoralitys of this poor deluded Country, where Drunkness Adultery Sabbath breaking and Perjury are a Jest, Horrid Murders Stifled and the Malefactors glory in it Treasons made a Triple & the Abettors caressed Magistrates grow careless and the offenders impudent, some being made believe by many seducers a short Confession here can absolve them from any future Account 'till these Things are in some measure amended by your Prudence and Example.
>
> I have but Slender hopes your Debates can be successful but as we are all willing to be called Christians and good Subjects let us in our Several Stations act like men of that noble Excellent Character; And let that Magistrate be Stigmatized with Infamy who ever Connives at or Countenances any Sort of Knavery, Atheism or disloyalty and when ever you will heartily and Sincerely Endeavour to bring this great work about I should by the blessing of God Gentlemen never doubt of seeing the Country flourish & improve, for then the Heathens round about us would never mock at our Religion as Hypocricy and the rest of the World will see know and be Convinced; to your lasting Glory that the People of Maryland truly Serve God and with a dutiful Regard Honour our lawful and rightful Sovereign the Queen.[52]

Governor Seymour, in his letter of July 3, 1705, to the Board, also complained that there was too much illegal trade in Maryland. To remedy it, he proposed that only five ports be allowed to ship tobacco or receive European goods. He pointed out that each planter had his own wharf, making it impossible for "all ye officers in ye world to know what is shipt or unshipt." In fact, he had been unable to have a survey made of ports and harbors because the

[51] Gambrall, *op. cit.*, 80-81.

[52] *Ibid.*, XXVII, 227-228.

Assembly refused to " beare the charge thereof, being a great stepp to hinder their private trade." The Governor, aside from his apparent desire to see trade laws respected, was personally affected by illegal trade that went untaxed. As already noted, his salary was dependent upon receipts from tobacco export taxes. To remedy the situation of which he complained, Seymour proposed that only five ports be established—at Annapolis, Oxford, Somersett, Patuxent, and St. Mary's. He listed the main advantages and disadvantages of each, indicating his desire to be fair.

The problem of creating towns and ports in Maryland continued to be a pressing one in Seymour's time. An act of 1706 made practically every important exporter's wharf a port, and contained provisions for the establishment of towns that could never exist except on paper. British merchants, as well as Seymour, objected strenuously to this and related acts. They claimed that their trade, already ill-regulated, was now concentrated partly in towns lacking both buildings and inhabitants who could set up stores to sell their goods. Marylanders meanwhile had the advantages of disposing of their products in any part of the Province. Protests were so loud that these acts were finally disallowed by the Board of Trade.[53]

Seymour directed another communication to the Board on August 28, 1705, stating that inasmuch as several of the conspirators and accomplices of Richard Clark had been seized, he had directed a " special Commission for their more speedy tryall, and the Grand Jury found all the Bills; but the Petit Jury, like true Americans, quitted 'em all but two." These two Seymour had allowed to be sold for the " country's good." Clark, the ringleader, was still free, defying the repeated proclamations; in fact, he was unheard of for two months and many thought that since he was a good sailor he had " designed to turne pyrate " along with " several other loose idle persons " indebted to him. Officials of neighboring colonies had been asked by Seymour to suppress Clark and his party in case they showed up.[54]

The board acknowledged Seymour's letters and discussed most of the subjects about which he had written. They wanted to know who the two criminals were and by what authority they had been

[53] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 552-553; *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 636 *et seq.*, XXVII, 159, 346; Labaree, *op. cit.*, II, 539-540.
[54] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 609-610.

sold. Regarding arms and ammunition, the Board stated that Colonel Blakiston was providing 200 muskets and other arms and equipment out of money sent to him from the Colony, raised by the 3 d. per hogshead of tobacco tax. The Queen had given her consent to an "Armourer" requested by the Governor and who was to be responsible for arms and ammunition and serve as storekeeper with a salary to be paid by the colony not to exceed £100 a year. Provincial judges were to be reduced to four itinerants who at the direction of the Governor and Council would cover the circuits. The Maryland Assembly should handle the matter of setting aside ports, but the Board would take the matter up if the Assembly made no headway. The Board also stated that it had conferred with Lord Baltimore and he had promised to see that Catholics in Maryland would be on their good behavior. And Quakers must contribute toward defense, but not disproportionately, the Board ruled.[55]

Seymour replied to the Board on March 8, 1706. He complained of the irregularity of the convoy sailings. The "Commadores" would set the sailing time and then leave before or after the hour, thus greatly upsetting and inconveniencing Maryland planters and officials. The Governor felt that Virginia was kept better informed, thus possessing an advantage in getting tobacco to English markets and cutting Maryland's profits. The importation of Irish Catholics also disturbed Seymour. He related that Lord Baltimore's agents encouraged it and Charles Carroll, the Attorney General, had imported over two hundred of these servants, despite the fact the Governor felt there were too many of them already in the Colony. To show the variety of problems facing a royal governor, Seymour closed his communication by asking directions for the disposition of a captured French ship.[56]

When the Assembly convened on April 2, 1706, Governor Seymour presented his program and warned members not to wait until the last eight or ten hours of the session to rush measures through. He reminded them that they should investigate the rumors that Indians were planning an attack that might wipe out the Colony. Seymour said he had

> neither Lands nor Houses [no Governor's mansion yet!] to loose here on any Suddaine fatall Insult, as you Gentlemen Free holders have; yet my

[55] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 40-42.

[56] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 65-68.

Reputation, which is dearer to me than anything in this World lyes at Stake. But with all the Cheerfull Willingness imaginable, will expose my life on a true handsome Occasion for the Defence Service and Peace of this Countrye.

The Council and Lower House replied to this stirring address most enthusiastically and promised their best efforts. They passed a total of fourteen acts, including one that created Queen Anne's County; one that encouraged the growth of hemp and flax in Maryland; and one that created the five ports previously referred to.[57]

The 1706 legislature, prorogued on April 19, was to meet again on June 20 but did not convene until March 26, 1707. In addressing the body, Seymour pleaded for amendments to the law that had created five official ports, urged that something be done about Richard Clark whose " Crimes are so notoriously aggravated, they crye aloud for Justice," discussed the creation of four itinerant judges, and then elaborated upon his chief grievance—the continued absence of a governor's mansion. This " favourable and Loving " speech, as they chose to call it, was gratefully received by the Assembly which hoped that by his " owne inclinations & her Majestys Gracious Inclinations " he would long continue as their governor. Twenty-four laws were passed in this session, none of a major nature.[58] The usual act of attainder against Clark was passed. Others dealt with forging and counterfeiting foreign coins, the prosecution of priests, and the cropping, cutting, and defacing of tobacco taken on board vessels. The session was prorogued on April 15 until June 14, 1708.

On May 9, 1707, the Board of Trade and Plantations, stating that the Queen had authorized it to promote the Kingdom's trade and to inspect and improve colonies in America and elsewhere, sent out a circular to all governors requiring a yearly account of their administrations and the general state of affairs. Seymour's letter to the Board on June 10, 1707, is evidently the first of these annual reports. He presents an interesting account of trouble-maker Clark, " For altho he is one of the greatest of villains; yet (especially in this County of Ann Arundell) he has so many

[57] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 521-526, 567-568, 619-645. See also another letter from Seymour to the Board, August 21, 1706, *Calendar of State Papers*, XXIII, 194-198.

[58] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVII, 3-7, 63-66, 139-178, 58, 128.

neare relations, that wee find it very difficult to discover his haunts, and what is worse, out of a foolish conceipt of his being a stout fellow and country-borne, the natives being now growne up, and most of them in offices, are very backward, if not altogether unwilling to bring him in, could they conveniently meete with him." One member of the Lower House, said Seymour, had been expelled for corresponding with Clark. The latter, with his " prodigall companions " had set out to retrieve some of their shattered fortunes by counterfeiting money like Spanish pieces of eight and the dollar of the Low Countries which they made of " pewter, glass and other mixt metall."

The Governor complained also of poor juries and mediocre office-holders. An Act of 1694 forbade anyone from holding office with less than three years of residence in Maryland. " Hence it is that no ingenious man capable of serving H.M. or the province will come here to starve so long a Terme." This might prove of " fatall and pernicious consequence to Maryland," for despite another act of 1694 which provided for the creation of free schools not even one grammar school existed in the province, and thus office holders were " ignorant and unfit " for duty in the Assembly. Only Maryland, Seymour said, had such a restriction on office-holders. Other matters were mentioned: the boundary dispute with William Penn; [59] Lord Baltimore's land rents; the inability of the " stiffnecked " Assemblymen to set up rules regarding Provincial Courts whose justices did not know " any rules to guide their Judgements " and were a " mere jest "; poor communication with England; the difficulty in filling vacancies on the Council, and the further difficulty in holding emergency meetings because members from the Eastern Shore were frequently prevented from attending by bad weather; the exodus of some Marylanders to North Carolina to escape paying debts, since North Carolina protected anyone from being sued for five years after arrival; the need of English merchandise, with many Marylanders almost " starke naked "; and the need of a guard ship at the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay to prevent attacks by pirates and privateers.[60]

In May, 1707, Governor Seymour received an address from some Quakers in Maryland, including Richard Johns, Richard Harrison,

[59] Seymour referred to Maryland and Pennsylvania as ready to " Cutt Throats " over " Their Lymitts " (boundaries), Seymour Papers, pp. 4, 6.

[60] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXIII, 430-431, 468-472.

Samuel Chew, Samuel Galloway, and M. Moore, in which they repudiated a " scurrilous libel " which they claimed was issued by Richard Clark. The latter was writing letters to the governor and employing Quaker phraseology to make it appear he was associated with Quakers. The letters were posted on outhouses and dropped in the roads at night. According to Seymour, Clark had posed as a Quaker while in North Carolina and now sued for pardon in some of the letters, " offering to discuss the ill-practises of many of his confederates, & in others he threatens to bring thirty thousand of ye French Indians upon the country by land, and to direct the French to bring a navall force to invade the country. . . . " [61]

The Quakers stated they believed Clark to be a " wicked and ungodly man " whose actions were " villanous, abusive, rebellious against the peaceable government of this Province." From their hearts the Quakers wanted to " denye, disowne, detest and abominate " Clark's " confederates ayders assisters and abetters." Seymour passed their petition on to London, observing that the Quakers in Maryland were " very peaceable and quiett, and well affected to this Her Majesty's Government." [62]

Two months later Seymour reported to the Secretary of State that some villains had robbed some Indian monuments in Maryland and that some of Clark's accomplices had been arrested. The Governor found it almost impossible to bring these men to account, for Maryland jurors " will never convict any of their natives " for most crimes.[63]

Seymour forwarded another letter to the Board on June 23, 1708, in which he further discussed the loss of inhabitants to North Carolina and also to Pennsylvania. The value of coins was greater in the latter colony, and sailors were encouraged to go there. Seymour urged an act of bankruptcy to be approved by the Board, to allow debt-laden people to get a fresh start in life. Complete details of trade, shipping, manufacturing, and commerce were given. The Governor explained the action of selling the two criminals out of the Colony. They were now in Pennsylvania, both at work for themselves, one as a carpenter and one as a blacksmith. What had been done was in " their favour," he

[61] " The Humble Address of the Peaceable People Called Quakers given forth at their Monthly Meeting at West River, in the Said Province, the 11th day of the fifth month 1707," in Seymour Papers, p. 2.

[62] Seymour to Earl of Sunderland, August 16, 1707, Seymour Papers, p. 3.

[63] *Ibid.*, October 13, 1707, p. 4.

said, and advised by the Assembly. Of the leading criminal he wrote: "Richard Clarke, the Ringleader of all the late villanys and disturbances here and who had put the Countrey to above 1000 l. charge, being since taken and executed, the Countrey is now very much at ease and in great tranquility." [64]

Seymour was running into difficulties with the Assembly. When it convened on September 27, 1708, he tried to secure passage of the program the Board had outlined but found out instead that they disputed "what they had no cognizance of, vizt. the legality of a charter I [Seymour] granted to the Citty of Annapolis (by the advice of H. M. Councill) and ran into heats and divisions, proceeding so irregularly" that he finally dissolved them on October 4.[65] The Assembly claimed that the Governor did not have the authority to act on the matter of the Annapolis charter which incorporated the city and established an organized municipal government. As early at 1704 Seymour suggested a charter be given to Annapolis. In 1708 with no action having materialized, Seymour was presented with a petition by the Mayor, Recorder, Alderman, the common council and other citizens of Annapolis asking for a charter. It was thus that the Governor, in the name of the Queen and by virtue of general authority vested in him as Royal Governor, granted the charter. Since it gave Annapolis two delegates in the Assembly and made it possible for the city to levy tolls and taxes on goods brought within its boundaries, the Assembly took great offense. Along with landed officials, the Assemblymen admitted the Proprietor had such a right but not a royal governor. The Assembly expelled the two Annapolis delegates whereupon Seymour dissolved the Assembly. A new Assembly was elected and demanded to know at once the Governor's authority from the Queen to erect a city. A compromise was finally reached, with the Assembly conceding the Governor's right to grant a charter without consulting them or receiving specific instructions from the crown. On the other hand, the charter was amended so that the authority of the Corporation was limited to the inhabitants of the town and could be used to tax only small amounts of goods brought in. It was also provided that since members from Annapolis had only slight expense in attending, they should be paid only one-half of what was given to others.[66]

[64] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 758-763. Seymour Papers, p. 6.
[65] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 194-195.
[66] For a copy of the charter, see Elihu S. Riley, *The Ancient City* (Annapolis,

Following the dispute over the charter of Annapolis, Seymour as indicated issued new writs of election, with successful candidates to convene on November 29, 1708. He hoped the " severall Countys would take better care who they sent to represent them." The same members were returned, however, but a more moderate Speaker was chosen according to the Governor. The latter exhorted them to lay aside all " animositys unnecessary heats & private piques," and to consider the pubilc interest with calmness. The Assembly passed twenty acts of the routine nature, such as one regulating the height of fences and another prescribing the manner of electing and summoning delegates and respresentatives to serve in succeeding assemblies. The procedure was as follows: Writs were to be sent out by the Governor with the approval of the Council and Assembly, forty days before the Assembly was to meet. These writs were to go to the Sheriffs of the counties; the sheriffs were to call three or four Justices to sit as a Court and issue proclamations to all freemen who possessed fifty acres of land, " or a Visible Estate of forty pounds sterling," to appear at the County Court House. They should come not less than ten days after such notice for " electing and Chuseing Deputys and Delegates " to serve the County in the Assembly. Four delegates were to be chosen and were to have the same qualifications as the voters. Sheriffs were not eligible for election to the Assembly. Delegates-elect must appear when the Assembly met or be fined. Seymour, commenting on elections later, objected to the interference of Catholics in them, even after the above systematic plan was worked out.[67]

With the passage of these acts, the last session of the Maryland Assembly under Seymour ended. His death occurred before another was called. In his last letter to the Board on March 10, 1709, Seymour had complained of the refusal of the Assembly to pass certain acts he had recommended. In appraising the situation, he attributed this lack of cooperation to the fact that

there was not any person of liberall Education that appear'd there, it was too difficult a Taske for me, to graft good manners on so barren a Stock; So they have once more refus'd to do anything therein. [Furthermore,

1887), pp. 85-91; Walter B. Norris, *Annapolis: Its Colonial And Naval Story* (New York, 1925), pp. 38-39; J. D. Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel And Howard Counties* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 196; Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 135. *Archives of Maryland*, XXVII, 191 ff., 358.

[67] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVII, 226-228, 267-269, 352-355.

there were] Envious & Malicious Spiritts wanting to create heats and Iealousies among the Members of the Lower House.

Three things in Maryland made the government very uneasy, concluded Seymour: First, the Proprietor's control over land favors made him too influential and gained many Catholic supporters for him; secondly, the regulation forbidding anyone from holding office unless three years' residence had been established in the Colony discouraged all "ingenious men" from seeking their fortunes in Maryland; and thirdly, too many justices had been previously chosen as delegates and had proceeded to pass laws making themselves, as justices, "independent of the Queens Governor." They also put everything under their "Jurisdiction and Administration, tho' they are never so meanly qualified for the Trust." [68]

And thus Governor Seymour came to the close of his career. He had hinted of the illness that was to prove fatal to him when he apologized to the Board for anything "that may have Slipt my Notice, having been So very ill, that I could not Sitt in Council above three or four days during the whole Session, and have not been able to go out of my house ever since." This was on March 10, 1709. The Maryland Council on August 31, 1709, reported Seymour's death stating that "On July 30th last it pleased Almighty God to take away our Governour, Col. John Seymour, after a long lingring indisposition of a continued feavour, etc. Pursuant to H. M. Commission to him, we have taken upon us the execution of the Government, etc." [69]

Seymour was buried at St. Ann's Parish in Annapolis.[70]

In conclusion, it is obvious that Seymour was one of the most determined of the royal governors in his effort to carry out the will of the Crown and his superiors in London. He found himself in situations that demanded more than average ability, and everything considered, he seems to have made out well and helped to bring a greater regularity and formality into the proceedings of government. A highly trained and able body of lawyers was beginning to emerge during this period. Much of their effort was directed at preventing English officials from breaking down charter

[68] *Ibid.*, XXV, 267-270. *Calendar of State Papers*, XXIV, 249-252.
[69] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXIV, 249-252, 457.
[70] "Vestry Proceedings of St. Ann's Parish," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VII (1912), 270.

and proprietary rights. Sometimes this resulted in the disregard of the Crown's requisitions upon the Assembly. Disputes ultimately followed. Seymour, trained in the army, insisted that his instructions and those of the Crown be carried out to the letter and at once. When this did not follow, he displayed great impatience and became much irritated.

Seymour indicated a good grasp of many of the colonial problems. His reports and letters to England often contained worthwhile suggestions for the betterment of the colonial situation. There was much legislation under his leadership dealing with the chief problems of the day such as those relating to tobacco, defense, and trade. Seymour had little sympathy for Roman Catholics and did not properly show the spirit of toleration for which Maryland has been known at times. The Catholic group, for its part, supported the deposed Lord Baltimore and was often in Seymour's way as it plotted the overthrow of royal government. In the final analysis, Seymour must be rated as an efficient, hard-working, and generally effective governor of Maryland during the royal period.

HOT NEWS OF '76

By Roger Pattrell Bristol

Head Quarters, Newtown, 27th Dec. 1776. Sir, I have the Pleasure of congratulating you upon the Success of an Enterprize, which I had formed against a Detachment of the Enemy lying in Trenton, and which was executed Yesterday Morning. . . . In Justice to the Officers and Men I must add, that their Behaviour upon this occasion reflects the highest Honour upon them. The Difficulty of passing the River, in a very severe Night, and their March through a violent Storm of Snow and Hail, did not in the least abate their Ardour; but when they came to the Charge, each seemed to vie with the other in pressing forward, and were I to give a Preference to any particular Corps, I should do great injustice to the others. . . . Inclosed I have sent you a particular List of the Prisoners, Artillery, and other Stores. . . . Total——1 Colonel, 2 Lieutenant Colonels, 3 Majors, 4 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 12 Ensigns, 2 Surgeons, 92 Serjeants, 20 Drummers, 9 Musicians, 25 Officers Servants, 740 Rank and file. 918 Prisoners.

The author of the above (who signed himself "G. Washington") was submitting a report of his first major victory over the enemy in the field in nearly a year and a half of indecisive, harassing conflict. Congress, to which the report was addressed, had its third session only a week before in Baltimore.

Congress at once ordered the good news printed. Mary K. Goddard, publisher of the Baltimore *Maryland Journal*, was given the task. She quickly set to work and on December 31 struck off a quantity of broadsides for the edification of the public. Following the thrifty custom of other contemporary publishers, she kept type standing and reprinted the news, unreset except for caption and ending, in the January 1 issue of the *Journal*.

A copy of the Goddard broadside is one of a splendid collection of eleven recently acquired by the Maryland Historical Society through the generosity of the Society of the Daughters of Colonial Wars in the State of Maryland.[1] Mary Goddard was responsible

[1] The broadsides were inherited by Mr. James M. Sill, formerly of Baltimore,

for printing one more of the remaining ten; the others were the work of Frederick Green, state printer and publisher of the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette.*

The acquisition of these eleven broadsides is indeed a notable event. Ten of them are the only copies known to have survived for nearly two centuries.[2]

Eight of the Green imprints were identified by means of examination of line-endings and typographical errors as having been struck off from type which was used with little or no resetting to print part of the next issue of the *Gazette.* Along with the Goddard item described above, they furnish interesting evidence of a standard practice of publishers of weekly newspapers of the day. It is little wonder that these broadsides, even more ephemeral than " extra " editions of later papers, are rare.

The broadsides span a critical period in the history of the revolt of the British colonies in America, the year and a half from August, 1776, to December, 1777. Inspection of them, with the addition of relatively slight historical knowledge to fill in the chronological gaps, reveals the course of American failure and American success as seen through contemporary eyes.

The earliest broadside contains news of the Battle of Long Island, a battle which Marylanders remember because on the American right fought men from Maryland beside men from Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New York. The right and center were pinned down by holding attacks by the British, who meantime were skilfully executing a flanking movement (unhampered either by American observers or by American outposts) which succeeded in rolling up the left and center.

The right, in the words of a letter contained in the broadside, was

> surrounded with thrice their numbers. . . . Smallwood's battalion of Marylanders were distinguished in the field by the most intrepid courage, the most regular use of the musket, and judicious movements of the

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now a resident of Bermuda. They were among the effects of Mr. Sill's father, the late Howard Sill, by whom they appear to have been mounted in an album for preservation. It is presumed that they came down in the family of Mrs. Howard Sill from her ancestor, Gabriel Duvall (1752-1844), Associate Justice of the Supreme Court for many years. A statement about the acquisition appears in *Maryland History Notes,* 10 (May, 1952).

[2] Authorities consulted were Lawrence C. Wroth, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.; R. W. G. Vail, New-York Historical Society; Lewis M. Stark, New York Public Library; and Frederick R. Goff, Library of Congress, Washington.

body. . . . When our party was overpowered and broken . . . three companies of the Maryland battalion broke the enemy's lines and fought their way through, the others attempted to cross a small creek, which proved fatal to several of them. . . . The Maryland battalion lost 200 men and 12 officers.

This was nearly a quarter of the losses of the entire day.

The British obligingly did not press the pursuit and thus did not turn a defeat into a disaster. Neither did they patrol the narrow waters between Brooklyn and Manhattan, so that the American forces were able to escape unhindered to New York City during the night, aided by one of the accidents of history, a fog which hid their movement.

From August to December the tale was one of uninterrupted retreat and frustration. The defeat on Long Island precipitated a crisis in which the militia began to melt away almost by regiments, as Freeman says, " discouraged and unpaid, disillusioned and embittered." [3] Washington was forced out of New York and across New Jersey; Philadelphia was threatened; Charles Lee, unstable but militarily the most knowledgeable of Washington's subordinates, was captured; discharge of much of the militia on January 1 was imminent.

Against this black background Washington planned and executed the " enterprize " against Trenton whose amazing success he related in the message to Congress reported above (item 2), and followed it up with a second blow at Princeton a few days later. Then for nearly six months the main American and British forces faced each other in New Jersey, indulging only in maneuver and feint.

Meanwhile behind the lines the newly established states were consolidating their position as governments. The New York constitutional convention meeting in Fish-Kill, New York, issued in December an impassioned address to its constituents. Because its appeal was broad, the address was reprinted in other states. Frederick Green considered it important enough to reprint not only in his *Maryland Gazette* but also as a broadside (item 3), sometime during February, 1777, soon after the first session of the Maryland General Assembly met.

As state printer, Green was for over thirty years responsible for

[3] D. S. Freeman, *George Washington* (New York, 1948-), IV, 180.

issuing the laws of Maryland. While the General Assembly was still in its first session, he printed separately as a broadside (item 4), probably before the issuance of the complete session laws, copies of acts "to prevent Desertion" and "to promote the Recruiting Service." These clearly had to be brought immediately to the attention of the public, of law enforcement agencies, of recruiting officers, and of the so-called "collectors."

These last (one "in every Hundred of each County of this State") were to be appointed by the governor and were to

> repair to, and require, every House-keeper within his Hundred, except Tavern-keepers, to deliver in an Account of all the Blankets, the Property of the said House-keeper, over and above the Number commonly used by the Family in the Winter Season, and . . . deliver to the Collector One Half of the said Overplus. . . . And if any such House-keeper shall refuse to render such Account of Blankets . . . such House-keeper shall forfeit the Sum of Twenty Pounds Currency Money. . . .

Furthermore, "the Collectors shall receive Five per Cent. on the Value of the Blankets by them respectively collected." [4] Maryland was taking serious measures to strengthen the colonial forces.

The next broadside chronologically (item 5) consists of despatches in June regarding the unexpected retreat of the British from New Jersey to Staten Island. Though welcome, the move afforded little relief to Washington because his forces were so inferior that he was unable even to harass the British withdrawal to any extent. He could only remain on the watch in Morristown, hoping to parry a stroke at the Middle States or to send aid to the Hudson if Howe should suddenly show strategic good sense by setting out to join Burgoyne, already on his way down from Canada in an attempt to split the colonies.

In July the untimely fall of Ticonderoga to the British enabled Burgoyne to move down the Hudson, leaving no strong point in his rear and with no apparent opposition of consequence in his front. His chief enemies were two generals who have been active in wars before and since—General Ignorance at home, and General Logistics. Even his horses' oats had to be brought from England.

Burgoyne's first check came as a result of his difficulties of

[4] Generous interpretation of this last clause may have done much to combat the rigors of the collector's task.

supply. He sent a detachment of several hundred men to seize stores which were supposed to be at Bennington, and despatched several hundred more after them when he feared they were in trouble. Despatches from General Schuyler (item 6) contain news of General Stark's complete defeat of the British.

At the end of the same broadside occurs a news item significant to Marylanders. " Annapolis, August 25, 1777. The Governor is informed by Express, that the Eastern Shore militia are collecting, determined to make the most obstinate resistance, and has every reason to expect that they will be numerous."

This apparently unconnected bit of news refers to the maneuvers of Howe. Howe had dawdled around New York during the best marching months, inexplicably failing to move up the Hudson to meet Burgoyne. Then he wasted more precious summer weeks in shipping his troops toward Philadelphia, first moving up Delaware Bay and then (instead of marching them the 12 miles across the neck of land) out to sea and up Chesapeake Bay to Head of Elk, now Elkton. He unshipped there on the very day the broadside was probably printed.

Howe did not trouble the Eastern Shore, however, but moved on Philadelphia. Actually, unlike Burgoyne, he was not much hampered by the militia. Congress fled to Lancaster for a one-day stand, and then to York. Washington was defeated at Chadd's Ford and forced to abandon Philadelphia and retreat northward. Despatches from York (item 7) describe the hard-fought but inconclusive battle of Germantown on October 4, in which Washington, attempting to defeat a divided British force, failed because of inexperienced staff.

The next three items concern the defeat of Burgoyne. The British southward advance was halted near Saratoga by the interposition of an American force on Bemis Heights. The first British attack was beaten off by Benedict Arnold's boldness in anticipation of it. Three thousand men fought valiantly while timid Gates held 11,000 idle on the Heights.

After waiting vainly eighteen days for reinforcements from New York and provisions from Canada, the British attacked again. In this second battle, reported in a letter from one Thomas Jones to the governor of Maryland (item 8), they were again beaten back, largely through the efforts of Arnold, the Patton of his day. Burgoyne, now outnumbered three to one, nearly cut off from

supplies, and unaware that Clinton, finally moving up the Hudson, might soon have relieved him, asked for surrender terms on October 14.

Frederick Green evidently felt that this signal success warranted special attention, for he departed from his usual practice and for this broadside (item 9) used larger type than that in the *Maryland Gazette* columns. Two days later the text was reprinted as usual in the *Gazette*, but reset.

Item 10 gives the terms of the "Articles of convention" between Gates and Burgoyne. The terms were honorable and respected by the American army; but Congress to its discredit wrangled with Burgoyne and never permitted the return of the British troops to England.

Readers may wonder what in the final item induced Frederick Green to issue a special broadside. Perhaps he had found the custom lucrative; perhaps this item is only one of a regular series of which most yet remain undiscovered or are forever lost; or perhaps Green felt that the account of peace feelers by General Howe included in it would appeal to the public. Even today it is not unknown that peace feelers, however suspect and abortive, excite as much attention and create as large headlines as do battles and rumors of wars.

The Revolution wound its weary way along for nearly four years more. The collection of broadsides ceases here. Their rarity, the fact that only two of them had been previously recorded,[5] and their historical interest increase our appreciation to the late Howard Sill for recognizing their value and preserving them, and to the Daughters of Colonial Wars for seeing to it that they are safeguarded for future scholars in the Maryland Historical Society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY[6]

Extract of a letter from New-York, dated Aug. 28, 1776. [44 lines] Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, dated August 31, 1776, Saturday, 2 o'clock, p.m. [69 lines] Saturday 3 o'clock, P.M. [15 lines] [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1776]

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[5] Items 1 and 2 are listed in Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1922); the second item was earlier recorded by Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (Chicago, 1903-1934).

[6] Abbreviations indicate library possessing broadside: MdHi, Md. Hist. Soc.; DLC, Library of Congress; and NN, New York Public Library.

broadside 26.5 x 21 cm. in 2 columns.
type-page 20 x 14.6 cm.
Wroth 371.
Includes account of the Battle of Long Island on August 31.
Reprinted from the same setting of type in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 5, 1776, under heading: Annapolis, September 5. Interpolated in the *Gazette* is " Another letter from New-York, of the same date."
MdHi. [1]

Baltimore, Dec. 31, 1776. This Morning Congress received the following Letter from General Washington. Head-Quarters, Newtown, 27th Dec. 1776. [149 lines in 2 columns] Published by Order of Congress, Charles Thomson, Sec. [rule] Baltimore: Printed by M. K. Goddard. [1776]
broadside 42 x 17.5 cm.
Evans 15152. Wroth 385.
Washington's official report to Congress (then in session at Baltimore) of his successes in the " enterprize " against Trenton.
Reprinted in the Baltimore *Maryland Journal,* Jan. 1, 1777, from the same setting of type except for caption and ending.
DLC; MdHi; NN. [2]

Fish-Kill, December 23, 1776. An Address of the Convention of the Representatives of the State of New-York to their Constituents. [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]
[4] p. 26 cm. Double columns.
type-page 20 x 14.6 cm.
Caption title.
Signed: Abraham Ten Broek, President.
Written by John Jay, this Address was widely reprinted after its first printing in Fish-Kill in 1776.
Printed in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette* in successive issues, Feb. 20, Feb. 27 and Mar. 6, 1777, from the same setting of type except for the insertion of initials at the beginning of the second and third instalments, and necessary resetting of the first few lines. The broadside must have been struck off just before or just after the February 20 issue, probably the former.
MdHi. [3]

An Act to prevent Desertion. . . . An Act to promote the Recruiting Service. [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]?
[4] p. 32 x 20 cm. Without imprint.
Chap. II-III, Maryland Laws, Feb. sess. 1777. Probably issued before the printing of the laws, because of its importance to the cause of the Revolution, and hence perhaps the first piece of printing issued by the state printer for the General Assembly of Maryland, then in its first

session after the close of the Constitutional Convention in November, 1776. Chapter and section numbers lacking.

MdHi. [4]

Annapolis, June 27, 1777. Extract of a letter, dated Camp at Middle-Brook, June 21, 1777. "Our army is on a very respectable footing . . . [49 lines] Extract of another letter, dated Head-quarters, Middle-Brook, June 22, 1777. 11 o'clock, P.M. "I have the honour and pleasure to inform you . . . [58 lines] Extract of another letter, dated Middle-Brook, June 23, 1777. 8 o'clock, A.M. "We have nothing new this morning . . . [6 lines] [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]

broadside 27 x 19 cm. in 2 columns.

type-page 19 x 14.6 cm.

Retreat of the British from Brunswick, N. J., to Staten Island.

Reprinted in the July 3, 1777, issue of the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, with date-line omitted, headings slightly changed, the second letter omitted, and the third letter printed first. Type not reset, except for the first two lines, in which large capitals were replaced by small ones.

MdHi. [5]

Philadelphia, August 22, 1777. By an Express arrived last Evening from General Schuyler to Congress, we have the following important Intelligence. Van Schaick's Island, in the mouth of the Mohawk river, August 18, 1777. Sir, I have the honour to congratulate congress on a signal victory obtained by general Stark; an account whereof is contained in the following letter from general Lincoln, which I have this moment had the happiness to receive, together with general Burgoyne's instructions to lieutenant colonel Bern; copy whereof is enclosed. [85 lines in 2 columns] Annapolis, August 25, 1777. The Governor is informed by Express, that the Eastern Shore militia are collecting, determined to make the most obstinate resistance, and has every reason to expect that they will be numerous. [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]

broadside 27 x 20.5 cm.

type-page 19 x 14.8 cm.

Battle of Bennington.

Reprinted in the Aug. 28, 1777, issue of the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, for the most part from the same setting of type; the last four lines (without date-line) are preceded by a proclamation of the governor.

MdHi. [6]

Baltimore, October 8, 1777. Extract of a Letter from York-Town dated Tuesday Morning 7th of October 1777. [53 lines in 2 columns] [double rule] Baltimore: Printed by M. K. Goddard. [1777]

broadside 17 x 20.5 cm.

type-page 11.5 x 14.8 cm.

Battle of Germantown.

Text reprinted in *Dunlap's Maryland Gazette* (Baltimore), Oct. 14, 1777, but without date-line.

Not found in *Maryland Journal* in any of the October issues.

MdHi. [7]

Annapolis, October 18, 1777. By a letter from Thomas Jones, Esq; to his excellency the governor, dated October 14, 1777, we have the following important intelligence. [46 lines] [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]

broadside 20 x 13.5 cm.

type-page 15.3 x 7.2 cm.

Describes the wounding of Benedict Arnold, who led desperate charges during the Battle of Bemis Heights on Oct. 7, 1777.

Reprinted from the same setting of type Oct 23, 1777, under heading: Annapolis, October 23.

MdHi. [8]

Annapolis, October 21, 1777. Extract of a letter from the Chairman of the Committee of Albany to the President of the Council of the State of New-York. Albany, 15th October, 1777. [6 lines] Extract of a letter from Baltimore, Tuesday morning, 21st October, 1777. [6 lines] [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]

broadside 21 x 18 cm.

type-page 13.5 x 11.3 cm.

Capitulation of Burgoyne at Saratoga.

Reset and printed in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 23, 1777; punctuation and wording exactly retained, but without date-line.

MdHi. [9]

Annapolis, November 2. Extract of a letter from William Smith, Esq; one of the delegates in Congress from this State, to his excellency the Governor, dated York-Town, October 31, 1777. [6 lines] Articles of Convention between lieutenant-general Burgoyne and major-general Gates. [85 lines] [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]

broadside 27 x 20.5 cm. in 2 columns.

type-page 15.4 x 14.8 cm.

Reprinted from the same setting of type in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1777, under heading: Annapolis, November 6.

MdHi. [10]

Annapolis, December 1. Extract of a letter from York, dated Nov. 22, 1777. [92 lines] Extract of a letter, dated York-Town, Nov. 24, 1777. [42 lines] Extract of a letter from the same place, dated Nov. 25. [11 lines] [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]

broadside 27 x 21 cm. in 2 columns.

type-page 23.5 x 14.8 cm.

Foreign intelligence; peace proposals of Lord Howe.

Reprinted from the same setting of type in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 4, 1777.

MdHi. [11]

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Architecture of Baltimore, A Pictorial History. By RICHARD H. HOWLAND and ELEANOR P. SPENCER. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953. xx, 149 pp. $7.50.

"Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon," cries Horace in consigning to others the task of praising famous Rhodes and many renowned cities of antiquity besides. With this preface he launches into his ever-living hymn of praise to beautiful Tibur, known to-day—and equally admired—as Tivoli. The enthusiasm of Rome's greatest poet, an Apulian by birth, may be compared with the understanding admiration of Baltimore architecture by two New England scholars, Richard Hubbard Howland and Eleanor Patterson Spencer. They might have chosen a more grandiose theme. They could not have produced any work of greater usefulness to the city of their adoption.

Mr. Howland and Miss Spencer in *The Architecture of Baltimore* have written a learned work in an informal and charming style. More, they have created a landmark which will be of use to generations of scholars through its illustrations as well as its text. Their book will in addition do great good in helping arrest the wave of vandalism which is threatening to engulf the admired and cherished monuments that have given the City its special character as a veritable museum of 19th century architecture.

The explosive growth of Baltimore from the date of its incorporation, 1797, until the end of the 19th century explains the virtual absence of 18th century buildings. Of that century only one building of a public nature, the Otterbein Church, and one important private home, the Rectory of St. Paul's, remain. Three country homes, roughly contemporary with the Rectory and of generally similar form, still stand. Mount Clare is admirably maintained; Willowbrook largely survives, though badly crowded by incongruous buildings; Homewood is well preserved, though actually, in all its beauty, it is a 19th century building. Many small houses in addition delightfully tell how the early settlers lived. The Caton-Carroll house of 1823 carries on the traditions of the previous century, and shows at its best the rowhouse pattern into which urban streets, as that century drew to its close, forced even the grandees' town houses.

Homewood, built between 1801 and 1803, triumphantly proves that all good workmanship did not come to an end with the 18th century. It ushers in the new age that was to produce buildings of great distinction here. These are well-known and appreciated outside the City. They

appear destined at length to be esteemed locally, in large part as a result of the labors of Mr. Howland and Miss Spencer.

The diversity of the new century is forecast by the varied styles of Godefroy's Battle Monument, his Chapel of St. Mary's Seminary and his Unitarian Church—all extremely original, suitable to their purposes, and most beautiful. Robert Mills' First Baptist Church has disappeared; his Waterloo Terrace is transformed almost beyond recognition; his Washington Monument gloriously survives, and has made its section of the City one of lasting importance. Latrobe's Exchange was torn down to make way for the present pretentious and wasteful Customs House; his dainty spring house has been preserved in the garden of the Museum; his Cathedral is reverently preserved in acknowledgment of its appeal to the hearts of all Baltimoreans, and will remain undisturbed through the ages.

The City's tragic losses are sorrowfully recorded. In most cases they represent needless destruction. Mills' Baptist Church could have been used as a lecture hall for the nearby University of Maryland. The Cohen house should have been bought for the office of the Jewish Charities. The Court House and Record Office could have been retained for important judicial purposes, and a new and more economical Court House could have occupied the equivalent of the unusable parts of Preston Gardens.

At present, the Wyman Villa, described as " the last good example of the Italianate style of country house " in this area, is threatened with destruction by Johns Hopkins University. Yet the University owes its entire Homewood campus to members of the family who, inspired by the work of the celebrated New York architect, Richard Upjohn, built a house " important historically ", and capable of centuries of usefulness. The Peabody Library's " remarkable and distinguished " stack room, " one of the most interesting interiors in the City," may also be marked for destruction as its Board of Trustees has actually considered giving away its incomparable library, one of the treasure-houses of learning of the Western World.

Fortunately time marches on apace. A world movement for the preservation of historic monuments is gathering momentum. Selfish speculators, even provincial trustees, must reckon with this new force. It helped create the demand for Mr. Howland and Miss Spencer's admirable book. May that book, with its scholarly array of facts and its warm-hearted, Horatian feeling for the neglected beauties of the City, find a place in every Baltimore home, and instill in every reader a deep pride in the shamefully threatened embodiment of the City's cultural past—its magnificient architectural heritage.

DOUGLAS GORDON

His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland. (Studies in Maryland History, No. 1.) By DONNELL MACCLURE OWINGS. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953. xii, 214 pp. $6.

The author, with Maryland antecedents, has specialized in Maryland history since working for his Ph. D. at Harvard. He is now Assistant Professor of American History and Associate Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Oklahoma. The book gives detailed histories, well documented, of the various offices under the Proprietary and Royal Governments, whether that of Governor, Chancellor, or Court Clerk, even down to Riding Surveyor, with their profits. Perhaps the most useful section is a list of all the persons holding these offices, with their religious affiliations, relationship to the Proprietary or other high official—to indicate any evidence of nepotism—and considerable biographical data.

Through these pages run interesting parallels with more recent political practices. Lord Baltimore, whoever he might be, ran his colony as a family affair—for did he not own it?—just as a family textile corporation is managed to-day. The "saddle"—a colonial Americanism for the modern "kickback"—was in common use. Governor Hart had to pay His Lordship's heir £500 a year; Governor Sharpe was loaded with "saddles," £50 and £100 to several of Baltimore's favorites, and, when Robert Eden married Caroline Calvert, Sharpe had to give her a pension of £100 out of his salary. Lower officials often exacted similar payments from their subordinates.

The burdens of the inhabitants were increased by the existence side by side of the Proprietary's bureaucracy and the Crown bureaucracy, all existing on fees—five percenters generally. Numerous offices were sinecures, and in other cases the same individual held several offices, again with modern parallels in Maryland today. One field, however, generally the most lucrative and the least defensible, His Lordship's control of the appointment of rectors and curates of the Established Church, is entirely omitted.

The author feels that the system was a bad one in that it was expensive and sure to tempt His Lordship to use offices to purchase friends in the Assembly, but that, from another point of view, it was defensible in that the gentry thus made wealthy could build fine houses, gather libraries, and thus handily civilize what had been a wilderness. "It meant that they could create in Annapolis one of the loveliest and most urbane little cities in His Majesty's dominions. . . . The system was a bad one and yet a good one: it all depends on values and on the point of view."

WALTER B. NORRIS

Myths and Realities, Societies of the Colonial South. By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1952. xii, 208 pp. $3.25.

The " myths " of Carl Bridenbaugh's loose, informal, stimulating, and interesting lectures are the generalizations of other historians about the South between the 1730s and 1776; the " realities " are Mr. Bridenbaugh's generalizations. When the two are most clearly different (which is not often, because Mr. Bridenbaugh's generalizations are not often sharp), the realities seem more fanciful than the myths.

The Bridenbaugh " realities " are based in substantial part on the great American myth that the newspapers of a day reflect the full facts concerning a people. Macaulay was one of the first to subscribe to this phantasy, but it is perhaps not too much to say that since Henry Adams' accurate assessment of 18th-century American newspapers, Bridenbaugh is the first to seize the bait along with its hook, line, and sinker.

The following sample generalizations will serve to indicate the nature of the lectures:

> I have, however, read every Southern newspaper and magazine published before 1776. p. 197.
>
> I have searched fruitlessly for evidence that before 1776 political sectionalism—western resentment of eastern overrepresentation and rule—was an issue, either open or covert, in Maryland or Virginia. p. 157.
>
> One of the most deceptive of the myths about the Carolina Society is that concerning the state of culture at Charles Town . . . The striking aspects of colonial Charles Town were the absence of cultural discipline and the passiveness of the city's intellectual and artistic life. p. 98-99.
>
> If the Chesapeake Society was noted for its men, the glory of the Carolina was its women. p. 84.
>
> I suspect that there never were many great houses erected in the Low Country [of South Carolina] before 1776. p. 72.
>
> " Carolina is in the spring a paradise, in the summer a hell and in the autumn a hospital." p. 69. [Although this is a quotation, it is not clear from whom, since the footnotes themselves are generalized.]
>
> The denizens of the Chesapeake country were not a reading people. p. 40. [They had books and read them, but they were the wrong kind of books for Mr. Bridenbaugh. It is a stern judgment on the 18th century, it seems to this reviewer, to argue that because 18th century readers were in the habit of reading 18th century books, they were therefore not a reading people.]
>
> In 1776 there was no South; there never had been a South. It was

> not even a geographical expression, as the members of the Federal Convention made evident when they spoke of "the Southern states." p. vii.

There is something especially attractive about a man who will start his book blandly with the assertion that the Federal Convention made evident the non-existence of the South in 1776 by referring to it.

JOHN COOK WYLLIE

University of Virginia

A Mirror for Americans. Edited by WARREN S. TRYON. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1952. 3 vols. $14.50.

The persistence of the Colonial attitude in these United States, despite their colossal growth and infinite racial delusions, still remains a cause for wonder. From earliest times to the present day travellers from England have visited this country, observed its folkways, enjoyed its hospitality, and, returning home, have written their impressions with varying realism and fairness. Good or bad, these narratives have been avidly read by Americans, who react to any unfavorable criticism just as Australians would do. Some of this raw-nerved sensitiveness evidently persisted in Mr. Tryon's mind when he set about making his excellent compilation of extracts which, in his own words "constitutes an effort, if not to restore the balance, at least to place side by side with the European commentaries that body of American observation which exists contemporaneously with them."

This effort is given to the public in three neat volumes representing the ultimate in the art of attractive packaging, entitled "Life in the East," "The Cotton Kingdom," and "The Frontier Moves West." The selections, admirably chosen to throw light on the American scene from a wide variety of angles and interests, make good Mr. Tryon's promise that in editing the original material no change in the thought or meaning of the author has been permitted. To achieve this, many of the excerpts are quite long—almost of book length in some instances. In reading them over, it is interesting to contrast the vivid freshness of some with the flatness and insipidity of others, and to speculate on the reason for this difference. In general, the mustiness is most strongly exhaled by the so-called "humorous" cast of writing, the work of professional "joshers," of which there are numerous examples. Baltimore, alas, makes its sole appearance in one of these, under the almost inevitable caption "Food and Drink in Baltimore." The author, William T. Thompson, migrated to Georgia in youth, where he cultivated a bucolic muse and invented "Major Jones," an eccentric character who served as a spokesman for his creator's views. The Major sojourned for a while in the old Baltimore Exchange Hotel in 1845, and tangled seriously with the local folkways,

with much resultant horseplay, centering largely in the unaccustomed meals set before the visitor. Food and drink have always exemplified Maryland civilization, and apparently always will, even though the canvas-back ducks join the dodo and our oysters fade away to the limbo of the Indian shell-heaps.

J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul

Gentlemen Freeholders. By Charles S. Sydnor. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1952. ix, 180 pp. $3.50.

This charming essay depicts the way politics were carried on in 18th century Virginia, and seldom has a solid historical work afforded better reading. The style is witty, anecdotal, and tinged with a faint nostalgia for the Old Dominion. Much of the humor derives from the author's relish in describing the predicament of gentleman planters whose aristocratic code forbade an open solicitation of the common people, but who needed the votes of the common people to get elected. The ethics of the situation were quite delicate. A gentleman, for example, had to inform the freeholder that he wanted to be elected, yet it was damaging to his prestige for him to wage an active campaign. How to solicit votes without seeming to was the problem. A gentleman too, was expected to entertain the freeholders prior to the balloting. The freeholders counted on it. Yet the gentleman must not be too lavish in his expenditure or he would lose face with everybody, and his entertainment must be carefully divorced from the idea that it was designed to influence votes. This show of fastidiousness is quaintly humorous to modern eyes, and the author has a good deal of fun with the high aristocrats of the time, who were not above rolling out the barrel on these occasions.

The literary quality of this book does not hide the fact that it is a keen analysis of the social structure of 18th century Virginia. With a knowledge of detail that every scholar will appreciate, Professor Sydnor unfolds the actual processes of government in the counties and in the provincial legislature. The book is mainly about electoral procedure, but the author makes it plain that the character of the society was epitomized in the electoral process. His point is that Virginia was a society that successfully combined democratic and aristocratic elements in the government. Political leadership at all levels was the acknowledged right of the aristocracy, and in the long run nobody could succeed politically who was not accepted by the gentlemen who ran the province. At the county level, the justices of the peace were a self-perpetuating group, composed of men to whom the generality of the people yielded leadership. In the legislature, affairs were administered by a permanent club of gentlemen who were astute, experienced, and who had taken one another's measure and decided who was to be trusted with responsibility. It was an aristocracy trained from birth for leadership. It had morale, a sense of stewardship, and it was under no

necessity of surrendering its integrity to stay in power. A political system, as Professor Sydnor says, which elevated such men as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, was one in which integrity and ability found regular pathways to the top.

The aristocracy did not govern, however, without reference to the yeoman farmers who were the enfranchised citizens of the province. True, the voters had only a choice between gentlemen, but Professor Sydnor says the choice was significant, and that in practice the gentlemen had to consider the will of their constituents. Fortunately, almost everybody in Virginia was a farmer, even though there were great ones and small ones, so a community of interest existed among all classes of the population. Moreover, this was a time when the yeomen still knew their place.

The last chapter is given over to a comparison between the high standards of an aristocratic age and the parlous state of politics in 20th century American democracy. The implication, gently expressed, is that something can be said for aristocracy, or, at least, that the methods by which democracy's leaders are chosen might benefit from incorporating some elements of Virginia's political system.

While these are reflections which naturally occur, and it must be said that Professor Sydnor's discussion is provocative, one feels that the matter is not broadly enough stated to lead to fundamental thinking. The electoral processes in colonial Virginia reflected a particular physical and social environment, as does our own. It does not seem that a useful comparison can be made without a deeper analysis, particularly of the 20th century, than Professor Sydnor attempts in this brief addendum to an altogether delightful book on 18th century Virginia.

E. James Ferguson

University of Maryland.

Virginians at Home: Family Life in the Eighteenth Century. By Edmund S. Morgan. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1952. ix, 99 pp. $2.

This brief but excellent volume is "the second in a series of popular histories of Williamsburg and Tidewater Virginia in the eighteenth century." In lively, humorous chapters entitled "Growing Up," "Getting Married," "Servants and Slaves" and "Houses and Holidays" Professor Morgan presents a faithful and well-written report on family life in all the social strata. A note on the sources and the most useful secondary works is appended. All who read *Virginians at Home* will delight in its fresh and happy presentation.

Henry J. Young

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg

The Silversmiths of Virginia. By GEORGE B. CUTTEN. Richmond: Dietz Press, 1952. xxiv, 259 pp. $10.

The Silversmiths of Virginia is an encyclopedic study of the silversmiths, watchmakers, and jewellers of Virginia from 1694 to 1850. Newspapers, magazines, official records, and secondary sources were ransacked by Dr. Cutten for every reference to the craftsmen in these related trades and the results have been tabulated in the form of a miniature biography for each man, listed in the body of the text according to the city, town, or county in which he worked, and in the index alphabetically. If known, there is a reproduction of the smith's mark, and there are twenty-nine illustrations of important surviving pieces, as well as illustrations of advertisements, bills of sale, and other interesting matter.

While the greatest value of this book is as a reference work for historians and connoisseurs, the introduction by the author is an excellent essay on the general course of the trade in Virginia, and the biographical information is rich in curious detail relating to social and economic history.

WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.

Peale Museum

Early English Churches in America, 1607-1807. By STEPHEN P. DORSEY New York, Oxford University Press, 1952. xvi, 296 pp. $10.

This good-looking album of early *Episcopal* churches on the Atlantic seaboard should appeal to all those generally interested in popular histories of the Church and its buildings. To the author it is a "visual essay," without attempting to be a comprehensive architectural analysis or to give a complete historical account of each building.

The work is divided into six parts, the first dealing with the historical background, and church interiors and their ornaments; then followed by sections describing individual churches in four main regions, the upper south, the deep south, the middle states, and New England. One hundred and eighteen photographic plates enhance the text, and include portraits of some early church leaders abroad, church furnishings like chalices, flagons, and alms basins, and architectural details. Mr. Dorsey, who has had much active interest in civic and ecclesiastical affairs, appears in this volume much more at home in discussing English ritual and church background than in treating of the early buildings themselves as architecture and history. For example, his text on the earliest churches in the South is in many respects not factual. There was no known church on Elizabeth's Island of 1602, as stated (page 43), but only a small fort and house, which were occupied a mere twenty-five days. To label the cobblestone footings within the Jamestown Brick Church as those of Argall's frame church of 1617 (page 53) is to repeat a time-worn and hackneyed printed error. To ascribe the date of 1699 to the Brick Church tower at

Jamestown, " according to the most recent qualified opinion " (pages 49, 53)—in itself a vague and unscholarly manner of presenting a source—is to ignore Mr. John Tyler's drawing of his excavations of the Brick Church in 1901 which shows the nave foundation and the tower in one piece, that is, both erected 1639-47. How does the " most recent qualified opinion " ascribe the date of the building of this imposing brick belfry to that very year, 1699, when Jamestown ceased once and for all to be the capital city of Virginia and when almost all the church-goers moved away from the settlement?

Readers will like the book for its pictures, and Marylanders will be interested in photographs of Trinity Church in Dorchester County, which is a beautiful print by the author, Old Wye and its reconstructed Vestry House, St. John's at Broad Creek, St. James at Herring Creek, St. Andrew's, and others. One looks in vain for one of the most interesting: St. Martin's, on Eastern Shore, with its details of Jacobean hangover. But this work is not intended to be a complete album of early Protestant Episcopal churches.

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

The War of the Revolution. By CHRISTOPHER L. WARD. Edited by JOHN R. ALDEN. New York: Macmillan, 1952. 2 vols. $15.

It is an absorbing pleasure to read these two sizable volumes, the result of many years of devoted enthusiastic research. Years have elapsed since any American work on this important subject has appeared; it is comforting to see them standing along with Benson J. Lossing's two-volume *Pictorial Field Book* just a century old, replete with wood cuts from drawings made on the spot, and full of purple passages, and with Henry B. Dawson's two-volume *Battles of the United States* (1858) with H. B. Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution* (1888) and the Englishman Trevelyan's six-volume work (1909-1914) which dealt with British and American politics as much as with military developments.

Mr. Ward's work was unfortunately cut short by his death at 75 in 1943; but he had worked into his manuscript the gist of a vast array of printed references bringing things up to his decease. The list of 284 publications, including a few more recent, added by the editor, fills 11 pages. Whatever manuscript sources were used, if any, are not cited. But the text citations to the 284 items, with other footnotes, fill 74 pages, a gold mine for further studies. Professor Alden, of University of Nebraska, not only prepared Ward's manuscript for publication, but added chapter 81 on the war beyond the Alleghenies.

Mr. Ward, a prominent Wilmington jurist, whose chief avocation was history, as evidenced by his *The Delaware Continentals, 1776-1783,** published 1941, had the true detective instinct. His zeal and satisfaction

* Reviewed *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVII (March, 1942), 79-80.

in tracing down clues as to what happened, and why, shine forth on every page, along with a rare comprehension of behind-the-scene political affairs and personalities. He writes with a dramatic quality rare in a military history.

Is it true that nothing was ever settled by a war? As Ward's preface notes, this is not a history of the Revolution, but of the war that made the Revolution stick. This war settled something of world consequence and benefit—the creation of a new kind of nation, in the face of the overwhelming numbers of Tories and reactionaries, the timid and indifferent, with all their wealth and power.

The overworked phrase "the Founding Fathers" is rather hollow in 1953, coming from those who have not read and care little about the Revolution and the Civil War, fought for two great causes, and the small group of courageous patriots and the pitifully weak half starved Colonial army held together by a great-hearted, determined leader. Ward makes frequently clear that Washington was by no means a great general in the technical sense, but with infinite fortitude could override defeat and seize the initiative, as at Trenton, from the well-trained but poorly led British.

The daily interplay of public opinion in a highly provincial era, of peanut politics among local leaders and in the Continental Congress, of the consequent frenzied financing to mobilize men, supplies, and equipment, can be only summarized in Ward's 84 all too short chapters. Yet though each is devoted primarily to military planning and actions in one battle after another, there emerges a picture of the life and thinking of the people.

The short but vivid characterizations of opposing generals, the concise fact-packed battle stories, many of them exciting in the telling, help to give this war history a distinction that will not diminish. Perhaps one should not complain that the book lacks illustrations, for the wealth of them available would have too greatly swollen these two volumes; where would one stop? But such a collection is badly needed.

Of the 40 maps which seem to have been drawn especially for this book, many are in merely an outline form, e. g. Bunker Hill, in contrast to such maps as those of Erwin Raisz of Harvard, which show the topography in perspective and give a feeling of actuality. A good example of Raisz and the elaborate detail and research involved, is the map of the two-part Battle of Baltimore, initiated and edited by the present reviewer as a labor of love, in the school text-book *My Maryland* (1934). Every Marylander is proud of the part played by Maryland troops in the Battle of Long Island, but Ward's map of it cannot be understood nearly so well as the ingenious strategy and progress maps of other battles included in the historical booklets of the National Park Service, notably those on Saratoga and Yorktown.

It is hard to see how any history of a war so long and complicated could be packed more effectively into a thousand interesting pages; most readers would say "that's enough." It is not likely that anyone will tackle such a job again for another half-century.

Meanwhile the need continues for a cooperative eight or ten volume compendium of the Revolution, full of detail, illustrations, more maps, quotations from personal unpublished narratives. This need comes up whenever anyone tries to reconstruct a particular campaign or battlefield after these 175 years. Conversely there is great need for a popular illustrated summary, maybe 400 pages, of the Revolution and what it meant, with a 35 cent reprint of it on the news stands; just as we had last fall Thomas' welcome new one-volume life of Lincoln, now a best-seller, while we were getting also the new 9 volume *Collected Works* of Lincoln.

And speaking of Washington, in the face of Freeman's many-volumed life, which one can devour with pleasure, footnotes and all, how welcome would be a first class, one-volume Washington biography, as brilliantly and appreciatively written as S. E. Morison's unique essay on the Young Manhood of George Washington, so that on the newsstands Tom, Dick and Harry might be tempted to read the personal story of the man who led the Colonies to victory.

JOSEPH L. WHEELER

Elias Boudinot: Patriot and Statesman, 1740-1821. By GEORGE A. BOYD. Princeton Univ. Press, 1952. xv, 321 pp. $5.

In a compact volume, complete with all the proper mechanics of scholarship, Mr. Boyd has made a laudable effort to place in his historical setting an important secondary figure who played a prominent role in government and society in our early national history. A man of no meager talents, Elias Boudinot was a member and one-time president of the Continental Congress, Commissary-General of Prisoners during the American Revolution, a member of Congress from New Jersey in the first Congresses under the Federal Constitution, a speculator in western lands, for ten years Director of the United States Mint, a trustee of the College of New Jersey—now Princeton, first president of the American Bible Society, and politically an active and dedicated Federalist. These are but some of Boudinot's noteworthy accomplishments and activities.

Despite the extensive use of manuscript materials and the apparent care and precision in research it is to be doubted that this volume adds much that is significant and new to our knowledge of the Revolutionary, Federalist, and Jeffersonian years. Basically a factual biography, the book contains little or no interpretation. Even though the attempt is clearly discernible, the monograph is not placed in an adequate historical context. Important gaps and omissions are noticeable. For example: It is difficult to believe that a man as politically prominent as Boudinot was not involved somehow in such important matters as the Alien and Sedition legislation and the politics of the Quasi-War with France at the turn of the 18th century. Yet, these and other important issues are passed over in silence.

Despite some of the obvious omissions, this book performs an important

function. Only by learning more of what the lesser men in our early government and politics did and thought can we get a fuller picture of our history. Not just the Washingtons, the Hamiltons, the Jeffersons, and the Madisons made history; the many Boudinots, though less vital and less glamorous, contributed much to the making of the nation. It is proper and important that we know more about them. Mr. Boyd, by rescuing from seeming obscurity an important second-rank statesman, has contributed to American historical scholarship.

ALEXANDER DECONDE

Duke University

Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Instructions and Despatches, 1817-1861. Edited by HOWARD R. MARRARO. New York: S. F. Vanni, [1952]. 2 vols. $35.

These two handsome volumes contain the official instructions to and despatches from U. S. diplomatic representatives to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies for a period of forty-five years. A prodigious amount of labor has gone into the 1,400-odd pages of this exhaustive study. The editor has supplied biographical data and explanatory remarks in generous quantities. One does not doubt that these volumes will be a standard work of reference for many years.

Several Marylanders played significant roles in the diplomacy of the years covered. William Pinkney, leader of the Maryland bar, Attorney General, and Senator, was the first accredited representative to the Naples Government. More than forty documents to or from Pinkney are found. John Nelson, Congressman and Attorney General in President Tyler's cabinet, wrote or received another forty documents while on a mission in 1831-1832. Louis McLane, of Delaware and Maryland, is concerned in twelve documents. Readers of the *Magazine* may recall Mr. Marraro's articles on Pinkney (XLIII [December, 1948], 235-265) and Nelson (XLIV [September, 1949], 149-176). The list of consuls resident in Baltimore in the years 1827-1860 is a useful record.

We are introduced in these volumes to Alexander Hammett, a Marylander, who served as consul at Naples from 1809 to 1863 and briefly as *chargé d'affaires*. We would like to know more about him.

F. S.

Edward Hicks, Painter of the Peaceable Kingdom. By ALICE FORD. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1952. xvi, 161 pp. $8.50.

From letters, journals, sermons, memoirs, wills, paintings, and news items, Miss Ford has literally reconstructed the life and times of Edward Hicks, beloved preacher of the Society of Friends and indefatigable painter of American primitives. In the last quarter century of his life he painted perhaps a hundred versions of the Peaceable Kingdom, a borrowed theme which he made his own by creating a wonderfully assured girl child standing in the midst of spellbound animals, the like of which only Noah and Henri Rousseau ever saw. Miss Ford supplies enough pictorial data to reveal three periods of style and to prove that Hicks did paint directly from nature, an accomplishment hitherto denied by historians of art.

Although this volume will be listed under Art, it is much more than another biography of a painter. Quietly, with great sympathy and good sense, the author has written an important chronicle of a family of Friends at a critical time in the history of the Society.

ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER

Goucher College

Graveyard of the Atlantic. By DAVID STICK. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1952. ix, 276 pp. $5.

In the more than 400 years since the brigantine of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon foundered off Cape Fear in 1526, the entire North Carolina coast has been strewn with the wreckage of literally thousands of vessels of all types and sizes—more, perhaps, than on any other coastline of equal length within this same period of time.

Many of these individual wrecks have been publicized. A considerable accumulation of such material exists. Yet not until Mr. Stick, himself a dweller on the banks, gathered the vast number of ship-wreck stories, sifted them for authenticity, outlined the most unusual and interesting, and arranged some 700 totally lost vessels of fifty tons or over in chronological order in the present volume has a full, authoritative and completely satisfying history been compiled. Each incident is carefully documented.

In a sense this volume also completes the story of the *Graveyard of the Atlantic* because, happily, this former ill-famed section of the coast is now, for all but sailing craft, about as safe as any other. The shift from sail to diesel and the efficiency of present-day, shore-based life saving facilities have effectively tamed its power to destroy.

Those who delight in ship-wreck and thrilling adventure will find this volume very much to their liking; to others interested in local history, it is highly instructive and entertaining.

RALPH J. ROBINSON

"Co. Aytch," A Side Show of the Big Show. By SAM R. WATKINS. Edited By BELL I. WILEY. Jackson, Tenn., 1952. 231 pp. $5.

Private Watkins's story appeared serially in the Columbia, Tennessee, *Herald* in 1882 and was immediately published in book form. A second edition, published in 1900, has become a collector's item. The present edition is therefore welcome.

Sam R. Watkins, Columbia, Tennessee, joined the Maury Grays, later Company H, first Tennessee regiment, in the spring of 1861. Although he had enlisted for only 12 months, the Conscription Act held him in the Army and he was, when General Johnson surrendered in 1865, one of 65 officers and men remaining of the more than 3,200 who had served in his regiment at Shiloh, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, and other bloody fields. *Co. Aytch* is strictly a private's story of the war. The reader is constantly admonished to study history if he would learn more of battles and strategy, although the author shrewdly appraises the leadership of most of the officers whom he knew. He is especially hard on General Bragg, who earned the hatred of the whole regiment. Of Joseph E. Johnston, who succeeded Bragg, he writes in terms of respect and affection. The reader will follow with greatest interest, however, Watkins's homely account of the daily life of the soldier. His baptism of fire ("I felt happier than a fellow does when he professes religion at a big Methodist camp meeting"); his horror and revulsion at Bragg's stern, even cruel, disciplinary measures; his memories of the kindness of the civilians whom he met, are described in simple language, labored at times, but not without humor.

Lacking the dramatic intensity of the battle pictures of Crane and Bierce, Private Watkins's narrative (although wounded several times, Watkins was promoted to corporal late in the war for picking up a Union flag without danger to himself) nevertheless portrays with unadorned fidelity the comedy and horror, the brutal senselessness, of the private's war.

W. BIRD TERWILLIGER

Politics in Maryland During the Civil War. By CHARLES B. CLARK. Chestertown: 1952. 201 pp.

The author, Professor of History at Washington College, brings together in one volume reprints of his articles which appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* between September, 1941, and June, 1946. Dr. Clark is to be congratulated for electing to publish this substantial portion of the results of his research on a significant topic in a convenient form.

F. S.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Seminars on American Culture—The Sixth Annual Seminars on American Culture will be held in Cooperstown, N. Y., under the auspices of the New York State Historical Association, July 5-11. Topics to be considered include "Folklore of Newer Americans," "Using Local History," and "Early American Decoration." Details may be obtained from Mr. Louis C. Jones, Director of the Association, Cooperstown.

Long, Robert Cary, Jr.—I am preparing a monograph on the work of Robert Cary Long, Jr.; and would like very much to call upon the readers of your magazine for assistance. Could you insert a notice reading to the effect that I would welcome any material concerning this little known but important architect? He was born in 1810, the son of Robert Cary Long, the architect of the Peale Museum, the Union Bank, and other notable buildings in Baltimore. He was a member of the Maryland Historical Society and lectured there. A writer as well as an architect he was one of the first to investigate the architecture of the Aztecs. Some of his most important constructions in Baltimore are St. Alphonsus Church, Greenmount Gates, Homeland, the Old Record Office, Carroll Hall, St. Timothy's Church, Catonsville. He also worked in Ellicott City, in Natchez, Mississippi, in New Jersey, and in New York.

Rich Bornemann
Peale Museum, Baltimore 2.

Names of Chesapeake Bay Vessels—Mr. Richard H. Randall, a member of the Committee on the Maritime Museum, is compiling a list of the names of commercial sailing vessels that have operated on the Bay. He welcomes suggestions for the list which in due course will be available for use in the Library.

Green—Desire names of parents, vital dates, and places of residence of Richard Green (b. Feb. 2, 1775, d. Feb. 12, 1828) who on Oct. 10, 1801 m. Mary Sloan (b. Feb. 12, 1783, d. May 20, 1816). They resided in vicinity of Friendsville.

Sarah Van Hoosen Jones
Route 2, Box 36, Rochester, Mich.

Jefferson—Need information about Leonard Jefferson who married Barbara Nichols on Dec. 3, 1806, in Frederick Co.

Mrs. Maylan Arnett
816 Chester Ave., San Marino, Cal.

Jones—Wanted: Any information on Elisha Jones whose ship was captured off the coast of Florida in 1812. Jones was brought to Havre de Grace, where he died and was buried.

Sarah Van Hoosen Jones
Route 2, Box 36, Rochester, Mich.

Saunders—Information wanted regarding parentage of Elizabeth Saunders, wife of Knighton Simmons, b. March 1, 1745, d. July 7, 1774, of St. James Parish, Anne Arundel Co.

R. G. Smith
2904 13th St. South, Arlington, Va.

CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. Tilghman, who is a Lloyd as well as a Tilghman descendant, is an architect by profession. He has previously contributed to the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. ☆ Mr. Brewington, of Cambridge, is an authority on the maritime history of the Chesapeake Bay, the author of numerous books and articles, and an editor of *The American Neptune*. ☆ Professor of History and Dean of Men at Washington College, Dr. Clark is known to readers of this *Magazine* for his able study, "Politics in Maryland During the Civil War," which appeared between 1941 and 1946. ☆ Mr. Bristol, of the Peabody Institute Library staff, came to Maryland from New England four years ago and in this short time has established himself as an authority on Maryland printing. His book, *Maryland Imprints, 1801-1810,* has just been released.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XLVIII, No. 3 SEPTEMBER, 1953

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor* FRANCIS C. HABER, *Associate Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes,* a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, the *Archives of Maryland* and the record of Maryland in World War II under the authority of the State, and other serial and special publications.

The annual dues of the Society are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes,* is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15,* daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 2.

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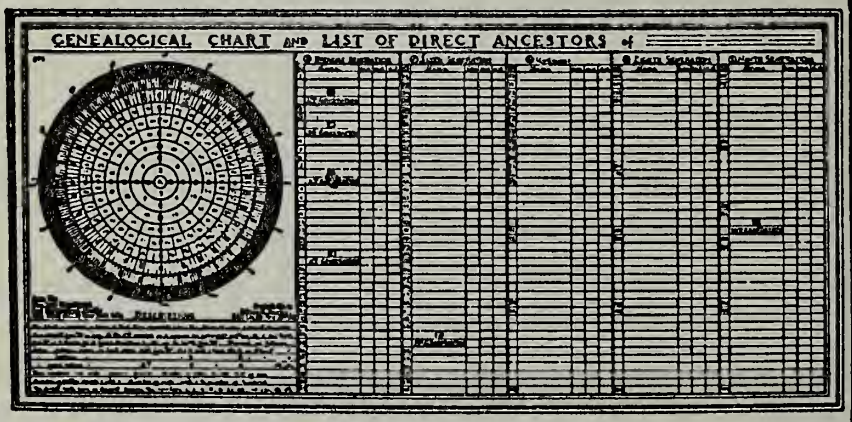

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLVIII SEPTEMBER, 1953 Number 3

NEW LIGHT ON THE *ARK* AND THE *DOVE*

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE VESSELS IN ENGLAND

The Architectural Setting

By Bryden Bordley Hyde, A.I.A.

THE only known contemporary pictorial representations of the ships *Ark* and *Dove,* which sailed with Lord Baltimore's colonists for Maryland in 1633, were discovered recently during renovations to Hook House, near Tisbury, Wiltshire, in the south of England. These representations, employed as ceiling decorations, were first reported in the Society's *Maryland History Notes* for August, 1951, in the course of an account of his visit to Calvert haunts in England by the Director of the Society. The present writer at the request of the Society went to Hook House the following year and took J. Fowler Smith, artist and photographer, of Salisbury, Wilts., to make photographs of them and of Hook House.

A stone, Tudor style, minor manor house, Hook House stands in the Parish of Semley, Chalk Hundred, adjacent to Wardour Castle, since 1547 the seat of the Arundells of Wardour. The

Manor of Semley, containing Hook Farm, was purchased shortly after 1571 by Sir Matthew Arundell and Hook Farm has been held by this family ever since.[1]

Sir Thomas Arundell (1560-1639), with Queen Elizabeth's permission, served under the Emperor Rudolph II of Germany against the Turks and distinguished himself at Gran, Hungary, by personally capturing their battle flag. For his services he was created a Count of the Holy Roman Empire in 1595, and James I made him Baron of Wardour. His third daughter by his second wife was Anne Arundell (1615-1649) who in 1628 married Cecil Calvert (1605-75), later second Lord Baltimore.[2] They received Hook Farm as her marriage portion and lived there. It was there that they planned the colonization of Maryland. Charles Calvert, third Lord Baltimore, their son, was born in 1637. Anne died in 1649 and Hook House seems to have reverted to the Arundells.

With the death of John Francis, 15th Lord Arundell, from disease contracted in a Nazi prison, the title became extinct. His mother, who died a few years later, bequeathed the estate to a cousin, Reginald John Arthur Talbot, a direct descendant of the 9th Lord Arundell in both paternal and maternal lines. In 1946 King George VI issued a royal license allowing Mr. Talbot to assume the name and inherit the estates of the Arundells of Wardour.[3] For a time Mr. Arundell lived in Wardour House (built c. 1768-76) but the expense of maintaining the eighty-eight rooms was too much in socialized Britain. Mr. Arundell leased it and renovated Hook House for his home.

While repairing "Lady Anne's Sitting Room" in the east wing, so named for Anne Arundell, Lady Baltimore, workmen discovered that the ceiling was false. Above it was found the beautifully modelled plaster ceiling commemorating the *Ark* and the *Dove* and the voyage to Maryland. It has been uncovered and repaired and is now in excellent condition. The ceiling is not dated but the initials "CC" (Cecil Calvert) and "AA" (Anne

[1] James Everard, Baron Arundell of Wardour, and Sir Richard C. Hoare, "Hundred of Dunworth and Vale of Noddre" in Hoare's *History of Modern Wiltshire* (London, 1822-1844), IV, 177.

[2] *Ibid.* See also Mrs. Arthur B. Bibbins, "The English Beginnings of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXVIII (1933), 283-308 (also separately published.) For an architectural account of Hook House see the article on "Baltimore House, Wiltshire" in Thomas Garner and Arthur Stratton, *Domestic Architecture of Tudor England* (London, 1929), I, 74, and Plate XXXVI.

[3] Arundell family records at Hook House.

Arundell) in one of the panels would indicate that it was executed before Anne's death, thus placing it between 1633 and 1649. It certainly must have been completed before 1643 when Cromwell's forces besieged old Wardour Castle nearby.

The ceiling (see sketch) is approximately twenty feet square and made up of nine square panels, plus the rectangular monogram panel in an alcove. Probably due to the low ceiling height, which is just over eight feet, no ribs or beams drop below the plane of the ceiling. The cornice is kept to a minimum with no frieze. The running grapevine which is usually moulded as decoration on the soffits of double moulded ribs is in this instance used uniquely as panel edging, and there is a plain border between panels.[4]

The design is tasteful and restrained with somewhat the same character as a ceiling from the Old Palace, Bromley by Bow, which has been transferred to the Victoria and Albert Museum.[5] It has the freshness of the early 17th century Scottish ceilings, as at Pinkie House, Musselburgh, Midlothian (1613) and Wintoun House, Pencaitland, Haddingtonshire (c. 1620), which though usually ribbed and sometimes pendentive achieve their effect by careful placing of flora and fauna, arabesques, medallions, etc., on the otherwise unadorned panel surfaces.[6] The English ceilings of this period were usually patterns of "strapwork," (Park Hall, Shropshire, c. 1640) [7] or of large panels well filled with low relief decoration (Ashton Hall, Birmingham).[8]

The *Ark* and the *Dove* which are repeated diagonally in the centers of the corner panels were probably modelled *in situ* from sketches made from the vessels themselves.[9] It is of interest that the *Ark* is viewed from port quarter and the *Dove* broadside. This was in order to keep the different sized ships similar in scale and mass as medallions. The use of ships in such designs is unusual and whereas these are not as clearly detailed as one executed in a wreath in the East Range of Canonbury Place,[10] London (1599),

[4] George P. Bankart, *The Art of the Plasterer* (London, 1909), pp. 87-169, 220-278.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 145.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 178-180.

[7] Laurence Turner, *Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain* (London, 1927), pp. 106-109.

[8] Bankart, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157.

[9] William Miller, *Plastering, Plain and Decorative* (London, 1905), pp. 246 *ff.*

[10] Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

they have a more adventurous character and riding on stylized waves in a plaster sea, appear to be " en route."

Two of the panels are occupied by designs that seem to represent mammiferous whales. These also lend a nautical air and were doubtless intended to indicate the maritime nature of Calvert's enterprise in Maryland. They recall similar marine life found on the ceilings in Emral Hall, Flintshire (c. 1647) and the Fish Room, Audley End, Essex (c. 1615).[11] It is probable that the fleur-de-lys and Tudor rose in other panels have no historical significance as they are found so often elsewhere.

The monogram panel has a sentimental central embellishment with two doves eating a bunch of grapes. This was cast in a mould and is identical with several on the ceiling from Sir Paul Pindar's House, Bishopsgate, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[12]

A central arabesque of scrolled leafage and the female half-figures emerging from foliage are indications of the influence of the great Inigo Jones (1572-1652), who studied architecture in Italy and is credited with bringing the Renaissance to England,[13] and also with designing Kiplin, Cecil Calvert's boyhood home in Yorkshire.[14]

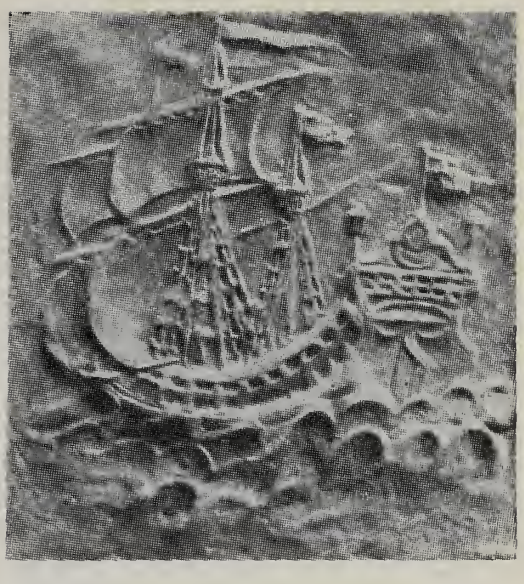
That this fine ceiling has been preserved through the centuries is due to the efforts of the Arundells of Wardour. Protecting their possessions has not been easy. Sir Thomas, 2nd Lord Arundell of Wardour (Anne Arundell's half brother), was an eminent Loyalist and died from bullet wounds received while serving Charles I. In 1643 his wife, Lady Blanche Somerset (daughter of Edward, Earl of Worcester) gallantly defended Wardour Castle with twenty-five servants for nine days against the attack by the Parliamentary forces under Ludlow. Her son, Henry, 3rd Lord Arundell, in turn besieged General Ludlow and himself sprang the mine which unseated Ludlow but also wrecked Wardour Castle.[15] Oliver Cromwell ordered the estates forfeited.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 176; Bankart, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
[12] Bankart, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
[13] H. Inigo Triggs and Henry Tanner, *Some Architectural Works of Inigo Jones* (London, 1901), *passim*; Guy C. Rothery, *Ceilings and Their Decoration* (New York, 1911), pp. 194-206; Albert Gotch, *Early Renaissance Architecture in England* (London, 1914), p. 6, 44, 71, 81, 138, 302; and Bibbins, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-297.
[14] Bibbins, *op. cit.*, p. 297.
[15] Everard and Hoare, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-168.

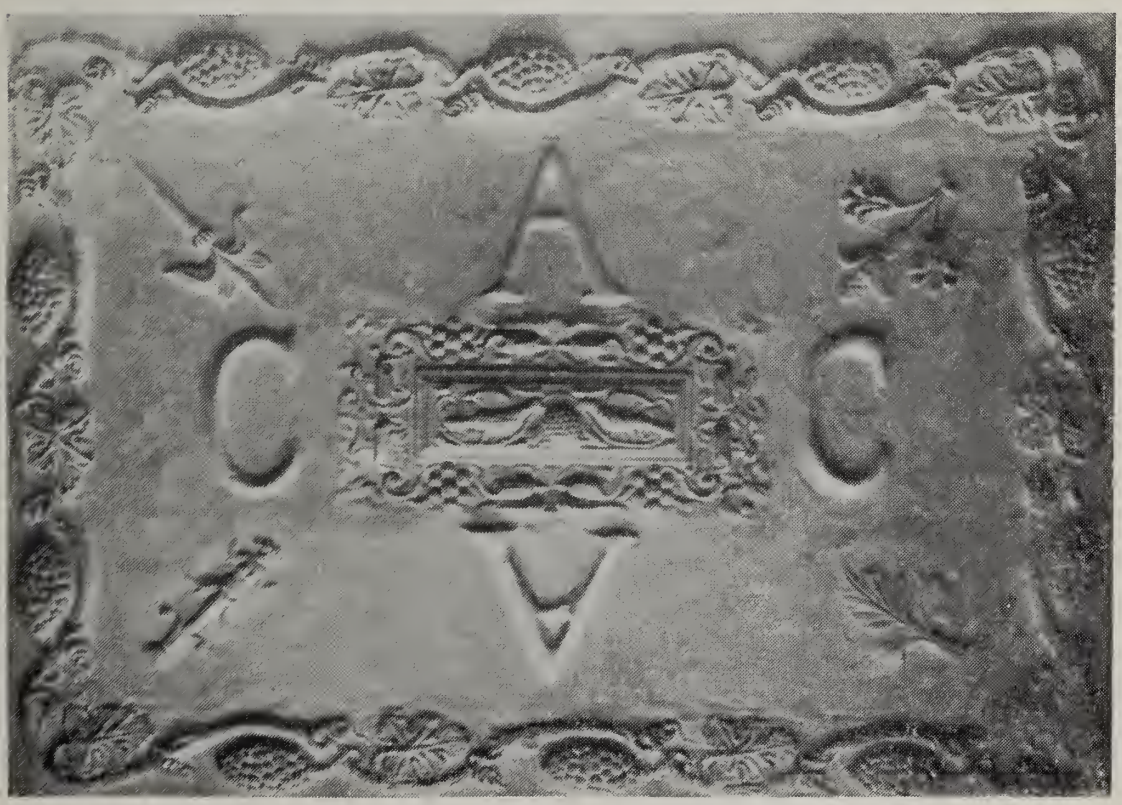
HOOK HOUSE, NEAR WARDOUR CASTLE, WILTSHIRE, WHERE THE *Ark* AND THE *Dove* REPRESENTATIONS WERE FOUND

PART OF THE CEILING IN LADY ANNE'S SITTING ROOM

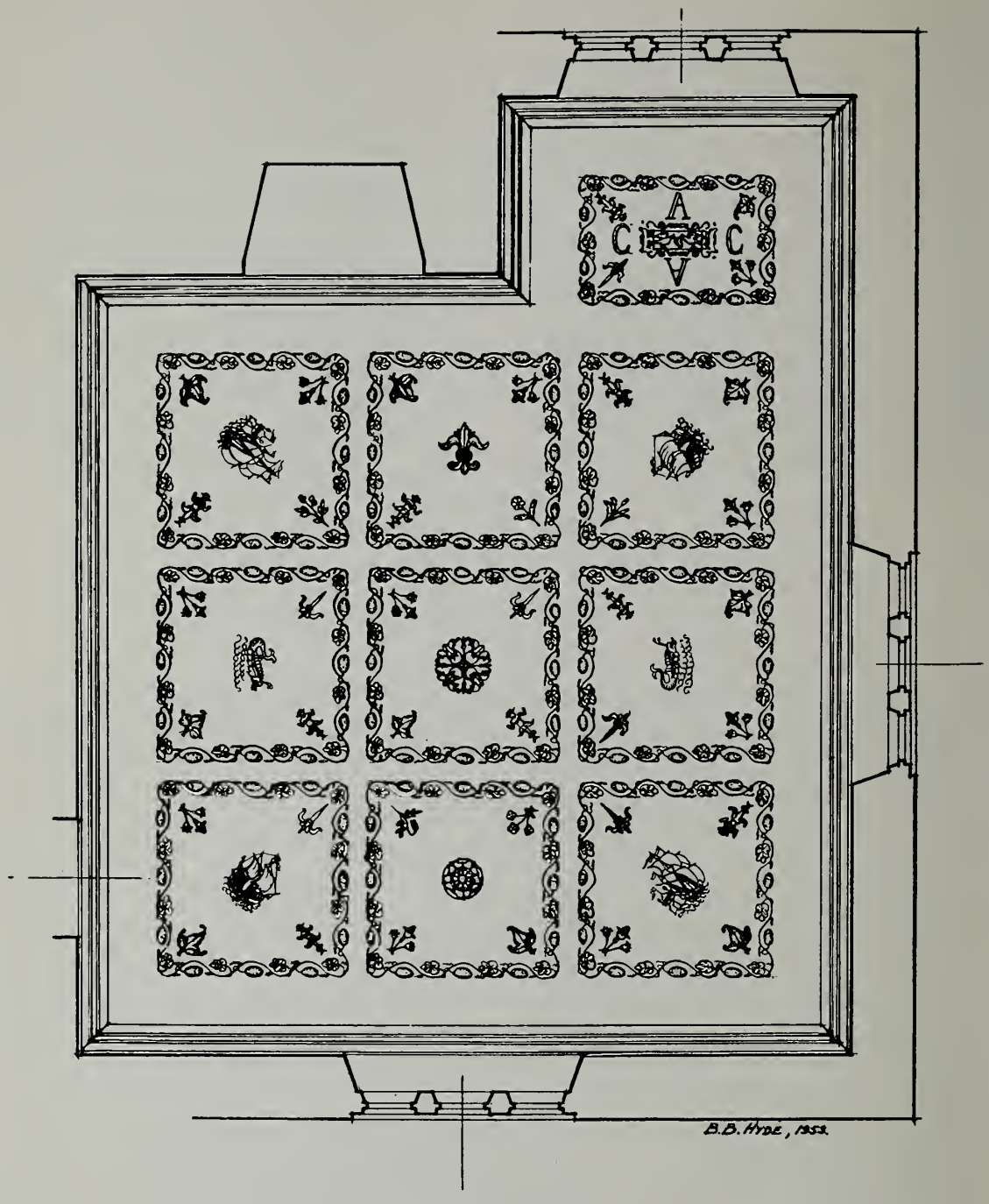
THE *DOVE*



THE *ARK*



CEILING PANEL WITH "AA" FOR ANNE ARUNDEL
AND "CC" FOR CECILIUS CALVERT



DESIGN OF THE CEILING OF LADY ANNE'S SITTING ROOM

By Bryden Bordley Hyde, A. I. A.

However, at the sale, Anne's brother-in-law, Humphrey Weld, managed to buy them on behalf of the family.[16]

May the spirit of the Abbess of Wilton, who owned this land in 955,[17] be with us in the hope that this ceiling will continue in good hands and be preserved as a memorial to Cecil Calvert and Anne Arundell, their colony of Maryland, and the strong bond between it and the Mother Country.

What the Designs Show

By Marion V. Brewington

The discovery of the four reliefs representing the *Ark* and the *Dove* is an event of very considerable importance to maritime historians and archeologists. First of all, these are the *only known contemporary representations* of any of the many vessels which brought the original settlers to the British North American colonies. No contemporary picture, model, or other representation of the *Mayflower,* the *Arabella,* the *Susan Constant,* the *Welcome,* etc., is known to exist.

Of the *Ark* as depicted on the ceiling little needs to be said. She evidently was a typical ship-rigged vessel of her period, perhaps with a somewhat larger quantity of carved decorations than usual. Her sail plan confirms the research done by the great English authority, Dr. R. C. Anderson, for the *Mayflower* model in Pilgrim Hall.

More important is the representation of the *Dove.* While the type of vessel known as a pinnace played an important part in the explorations and the settling of the Atlantic Coast, exactly what the sea-going pinnace (as opposed to those used on the coast or in protected waters) may have been, has never been established definitely. An engraving a half-century before the *Dove* shows one rigged as a three-masted ship, but the pinnaces used by Claiborne and sundry others coasting or within the Bay we know were small craft, one-masted, fore-and-aft-rigged. Other pinnaces

[16] Charles Bowles and Sir Richard C. Hoare, "The Hundred of Chalk" in Hoare's *Modern Wiltshire,* IV, 27.

[17] Rev. John Offer and Sir Richard C. Hoare, "The Hundred of Branch and Dale" in Hoare's *Modern Wiltshire,* II, 83.

were nothing more than row boats, perhaps with an auxiliary sailing rig. Since the *Dove* is clearly depicted as a two-masted, square-rigged craft, one concludes that the pinnace was rigged according to size as the builder chose, and the name belonged to the hull rather than the rig. Probably it was one with a narrow beam in proportion to length, a design for speed rather than burden. Since this representation of the *Dove* was not known when the marine artist Griffith Baily Coale in 1948 did the mural of the arrival of the Virginia settlers at Jamestown for the State Capitol at Richmond, it is interesting to see that his research gave him the belief that the pinnace *Discovery* carried a two-masted square-rig exactly like that which we see on the *Dove.*

It is hoped some careful marine artist using these plaster reliefs as a basis will produce a sound representation of the arrival of Lord Baltimore's colonists to replace the sailor's nightmares hitherto given us.

A LAND SPECULATOR IN THE OPENING OF WESTERN MARYLAND

By Aubrey C. Land

IN American history the land speculator has appeared almost without exception as an unsavory type. His aims have been questioned and his methods excoriated, usually with justice. Even the actual settlers who themselves took up more land than they could use in the hope of selling their surplus acreage when values rose had few kind words for competitors with larger designs and ampler means and consequently able to do on a large scale what they did more modestly.[1] The traditional distaste of frontiersmen and small land owners for speculators runs far back into colonial history when the close association of large landholders with governors' councils and provincial land offices excited the envy of the less fortunately placed. Colonial squires who acquired immense tracts of wild lands through favor or by questionable dealings came very near the ideal of the speculator. Their grants were gratis, or nearly so, and future sales almost clear profit. Small wonder that these persons who did little more than exclude the worthy poor from desirable idle lands while their own unmerited profits mounted appeared something less than public benefactors.

Not all the owners of large tracts in the unsettled back country passively awaited the movement of pioneers toward their holdings. Some offered various kinds of encouragement—low prices, choice locations, protection from savages—to direct the fingers of settlement probing westward toward their vacant lands. Others offered much needed credit for purchasing and stocking the farms they sold. Though their motives were mercenary, these enterprising speculators were more than mere leeches fattening on the needs of the landless. To some degree they facilitated settlement within the framework of social and economic assumptions of their time.

Few acted with intentions as varied as Daniel Dulany (1685-1753) of Maryland and fewer still came as near performing a

[1] Professor Billington takes a more charitable view of the land speculator. Ray A. Billington, "The Land Speculator as a Frontier Type," *Agricultural History,* XIX, 204-212.

public service at the same time they improved their own personal fortunes. Dulany became aware of the potentialities of Western Maryland in the last decade of a busy and useful career. After he sensed the danger to the province of allowing the back country to remain unsettled and the fortune awaiting the person who would develop it, he set to work with vigor astonishing in a man of his years to correct the deficiency and to reap the rewards. Though he did not succeed in making good his ambitions to enlarge the western boundaries of Maryland, he did live to see a growing community established in the Monocacy valley and on to the northwest beyond the Catoctin hills, much of it on his own land or land he had sold. And, though he was unsuccessful in his territorial ambitions for the province, his contribution to developing Western Maryland had a more important result he had not anticipated. These outlying settlements provided the westernmost base for expeditions which set out for the forks of the Ohio during the struggle between England and France for the greater West in the French and Indian War. From Braddock's ill-fated march on through the war the Maryland settlers furnished horses, wagons, and teamsters for transporting supplies and baggage of expeditions crossing an area without navigable water routes.[2] Dulany had correctly estimated the profits to be made in western land and in the course of his operations he added a second fortune to an already substantial one he had accumulated in earlier years.

When Dulany threw himself into his " western project " in 1744 he had already achieved a degree of worldly success accorded few immigrants who arrived in the new world with only their native wits as working capital. He had read law and had advanced rapidly to the head of the profession. He had steadily acquired real property in the tidewater region since 1713 until his holdings totalled some 20,000 acres of plantations.[3] As a partner in the lucrative Baltimore Iron Works he was part owner of many acres more of ore and timber lands. His close relation to the proprietary government of provincial Maryland in no way handicapped Dulany's land dealings. At various times he had held the offices of receiver general of revenues, attorney general, commissary gen-

[2] Not always willingly. Transportation equipment was ordinarily commandeered. *Archives of Maryland,* VI, 207, 211.

[3] The extent of Dulany's investments in land throughout the province is indicated in Aubrey C. Land, " Genesis of a Colonial Fortune," *William and Mary Quarterly,* VII (1950), 266-67.

eral or judge of the probate court, and the chief judge of the court of vice admiralty. Finally in 1742 he was elevated to the Lord Proprietor's Council of State.[4] Like his colleagues in the official family Dulany requested and received special favors in taking up vacant land.

In his early career, long before he had attained the ranks of the governing oligarchy, Dulany had acquired considerable land in Western Maryland. Sometime before 1721 he formed a partnership with Major John Bradford for the purpose of securing choice bottom lands along the Potomac. Although this area had been crossed by western travelers since the beginning of the century, it was insufficiently explored and not at all accurately represented on contemporary maps. Secretary Philemon Lloyd possessed a manuscript map, which he inscribed " Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants," with reasonably accurate locations for Indian towns and trails, and principal physiographic features, but nothing to indicate either the character of the soil or the extent of arable land. According to Lloyd's map, settlement did not extend far up the river which was shown to be, in his descriptive phrase, mostly " above ye inhabitants." Dulany's arrangement with Bradford took advantage of the Major's first hand knowledge of the Potomac valley gained in his dealings with the Indians of the area. From his country seat in Prince George's county, Major Bradford made excursions into the wilderness to locate the best lands and to have them surveyed. At the capital Dulany attended to securing warrants and suing out the final patents.[5]

Over the years of their partnership Dulany and Bradford acquired nearly 2,000 acres in tracts either bordering the Potomac or situated on islands in the river.[6] Other enterprising landlords laid out plantations along the same convenient transportation route. Few took up land in the interior. Benjamin Tasker, planter and councillor, in 1727 received a patent to 7,000 acres, which he

[4] *Maryland Gazette,* December 6, 1753.

[5] William B. Marye, " Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXX (1935), 11; Edward B. Mathews, " Bibliography and Cartography of Maryland," *Maryland Geological Survey,* I (Baltimore, 1897), 385-87, and " Maps and Map-Makers of Maryland," *ibid.,* II (Baltimore, 1898), 351, 360, 363-65.

[6] Patent Records, Land Office, Annapolis, Liber IL No. A, f. 150-51. The partners owned " Progress " (264 acres), " Long Acre " (104 acres), " Walnut Tree Island " (284 acres), " Seneca Landing " (104 acres), and " Concord " (1106 acres). Dulany also acquired the tract " Williamsborough " (1400 acres) in his name alone, Patent Records, Liber CE No. 1, f. 339-41.

called appropriately " Tasker's Chance," located on the west side of the Monocacy River about twelve miles overland from the Potomac.[7] Dr. Charles Carroll, surgeon, merchant, and partner with Tasker and Dulany in the Baltimore Iron Works, also took sufficient interest in western land to propose that Lord Baltimore offer special inducements—lower quitrents and exemption from proprietary impositions for a period of time — to attract settlers into the back country. Dr. Carroll's many activities prevented his concentration on the west and after 1738 his outspoken opposition to the proprietary regime cut him off from special favors Baltimore and his provincial officials granted well-wishers.[8] Apart from his properties bordering the Potomac, Dulany showed no enthusiasm for large scale operations in western lands. Long after Bradford's death he carved out an irregularly shaped chunk of interior land, " Dulany's Lot," 3,850 acres, across the Monocacy from Tasker's Chance. But he made no special effort to turn it to account for several years.[9]

In part this occasional interest in the vacant back country was a response to the growing scarcity of desirable land in the tidewater. But operations of Virginia speculators in the Shenandoah valley had suggested that similar opportunities on a smaller scale lay in the undeveloped and unsettled valleys of western Maryland. Pennsylvania Germans making their way to the Shenandoah grants of the Van Meters and Jost Hite had broken a trail across the Monocacy country as early as 1732. By 1739 this wagon route, the Monocacy Road, had become the principal avenue from the north to the Shenandoah.[10] Some of the migrants who showed a disposition to stop before reaching the Valley of Virginia were prospective purchasers of farm lands.

Dulany was fortunately situated to do a small but profitable business supplying the Scotch, Welsh, and Pennsylvania Dutch

[7] Patent Records, Liber PL No. 6, f. 559.

[8] Memorial of Carroll to Governor Ogle, February 17, 1731/32, *Maryland Historical Magazine,* IX (1914), 291-293. A full discussion of Dr. Carroll's activities in the west is given by R. Bruce Harley, " Dr. Charles Carroll—Land Speculator, 1730-1755," *ibid.*, XLVI (1951), 93-107.

[9] The patent to Dulany's Lot issued April 7, 1737, Patent Records, Liber EI No. 2, f. 410-11.

[10] T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County* (Hagerstown, 1910), I, 4; Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans, A History* (Princeton, 1948), pp. 57-58; St. George L. Sioussat, " Highway Legislation in Maryland, and its Influence on the Economic Development of the State," *Maryland Geological Survey,* III (Baltimore, 1899), 127.

with farms. In the middle 1730s he had marked a combination of talents in a Yorkshire immigrant, Thomas Cresap, who had earned the distinctive title, the "Maryland Monster," for his exploits during the border troubles between Pennsylvania and Maryland. Beside his skill in dealing with Indians and directing a polyglot band of settlers in defense of their homes in the disputed zone, Cresap was a surveyor of sorts. When he moved west in 1737, Dulany put him in charge of laying out farms for any transients who cared to make Maryland their permanent habitation. By 1742 Cresap had settled permanently at an abandoned Indian village, Old Town, near the forks of the Potomac.[11] From this headquarters he scouted the western neck in search of choice land for himself and for Dulany. In his own name Cresap took out patents on a 500 acre tract, "Long Meadow," on Antietam Creek, and two adjacent pieces, "Addition to Long Meadow," and "West Addition to Long Meadow." For Dulany he surveyed smaller tracts to sell when purchasers appeared, making returns in his plastic orthography.[12]

As settlers moved into western Virginia and Maryland the question of exact boundaries, which had already cost proprietary officials much time and energy in the 1730s, seemed likely to be repeated. According to Lord Baltimore's charter, the northern border of the province ran westward "unto the true Meridian of the first Fountain of the River Pottowmack, thence verging toward the South, unto the further Bank of the said River," and down the river to the Chesapeake Bay.[13] In early 1744 Dulany went to some pains to inform himself on the exact course of the Potomac and the location of the "first Fountain" from reports of recent explorations. Sometime in July he made a discovery of first importance. Without delay he reported it to Lord Baltimore.

> Potomack River above the Mountains divides into two Large Branches, one called the South and the other the North branch. The first is the largest and longest, and (as I am inform'd) the Main Branch of the River, and consequently your Lordships boundary.[14]

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[11] Kenneth P. Bailey, *Thomas Cresap, Maryland Frontiersman* (Boston, 1944), pp. 59-63.

[12] These sales, ranging from 100 to nearly 500 acres, are recorded in the Patent Records, Liber LG No. B, f. 553-54, 699-700, Liber LG No. C, f. 56-57, Liber LG No. E, f. 186, 346-47, 375-76, 377-78, 385-86.

[13] Charter of Maryland, Article II, *Maryland Manual* (Annapolis, 1950), pp. 281-282.

[14] Dulany to Baltimore, July 21, 1744, Dulany Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

Dulany enlisted the support of Governor Thomas Bladen in the project of claiming the branch which would give the province the most generous boundaries. Together they studied the problem for several weeks before deciding that Dulany should make a personal reconnaissance of the doubtful terrain. The trip began too late in the autumn for Dulany to accomplish his exploring mission fully, but he returned in mid-November enthusiastic about what he had seen.

> I have not been long return'd from a journey into the back woods, as far as to the Temporary line between this Province and Pennsylvania, where I had the pleasure of seeing a most delightfull Country, a Country My Lord, that Equals (if it does not exceed) any in America for natural Advantages, such as a rich & fertil Soil, well furnished with timber of all sorts abounding with lime stone, and stone fit for building, good slate and some Marble, and to Crown all, very healthy.
>
> The season of the year was so far advanced towards Winter, that I cou'd not possibly go to the neck of land in the fork of Patomack, which I mentioned in a former letter to your Lordship, the possession whereof I conceive to be of great Importance, and therefore beg leave to assure your Lordship that no Endeavours of mine shall be wanting to secure it for you.[15]

After his western tour Dulany decided on a course of action which in the next few years raised suspicions that he had lost his mind and would shortly lose his fortune as well. In late 1744 he talked with a committee of six settlers who held an option on Tasker's Chance. After a vain attempt to raise the funds to purchase the whole tract the committee had approached Dulany with a proposal that he take over the land on which the settlers they represented were squatting and guarantee them the right to purchase from him later. Dulany was prepared to furnish the capital for the settlement program and in January, 1745, took over the option. In turn he paid Tasker £2,000 currency for clear title to the 7,000 acres laid out in a rough rectangular block extending five miles north and south along the Monocacy and stretching westward across the valley to the low foothills of the Catoctin mountains.[16] This sum represented payment at the rate of five shillings eight pence per acre.

Tasker's Chance was the largest single block Dulany owned in

[15] Dulany to Baltimore, November 24, 1744, *Calvert Papers,* II, " Fund Publication No. 34 " (Baltimore, 1894), p. 116.

[16] Provincial Court Deeds, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Liber EI No. 8, f. 28-31.

the west. But in the two years following its purchase he worked energetically to enlarge his holding of areas inland from the Potomac. Sometime after their working arrangement was made, Cresap mortgaged his Antietam valley tracts, Long Meadow and the two additions, to Dulany. When the properties fell to Dulany they comprised nominally 770 acres, surveyed in irregular shape with much vacant land lying within the enclaves. Dulany incorporated these unclaimed acres into the original survey and brought the total, now known as "Long Meadow Resurveyed," to 2,370 acres.[17] Cresap continued to scout out desirable lands for Dulany after 1744. On Captain's Creek, a tributary of the Monocacy, Cresap located and surveyed the "Buck Forest," 1,600 acres. Again he included only the best land and when resurvey was made to include contiguous vacancies Buck Forest was exactly 3,000 acres in extent.[18] "Locust Level" was even larger, 3,180 acres.[19] Two smaller tracts, "Spring Garden" and "Addition to Spring Garden" on Beaver Creek near the Monocacy, together came to 1,000 acres.[20] Altogether these inland properties amounted to 16,550 acres. With the unsold remainder of Dulany's Lot, some 2,650 acres, the total extent of the Monocacy and Antietam lands was 19,200 acres. Throughout the complicated transactions with settlers Dulany kept a backlog of valley land between fifteen and twenty thousand acres, by adding small tracts to balance sales he made from his larger grants. After his death in 1753 over 17,000 acres remained in possession of his heirs.[21]

Compared with the princely domains of the Carters and Byrds, and the hundreds of thousands of acres the land companies were seeking the Dulany holdings were of second magnitude. But size alone does not convey an adequate impression of their value to the Dulany family or of their importance to the future of Western Maryland. Dulany's labors developing and promoting these properties enhanced their value at an extraordinary rate. By the time of his death they formed the largest single asset in the bountiful fortune he passed on to his heirs. Their geographical

[17] Warrant Books, Land Office, Annapolis, Liber PT No. 3, folio 15; Patent Records, Liber GS No. 1, folios 131-134. Patent did not issue until November 5, 1751.

[18] Patent Records, Liber GS No. 1, f. 147-48; Liber BY & GS No. 3, f. 445-47.

[19] *Ibid.*, Liber BY & GS No. 5, f. 551-52.

[20] *Ibid.*, Liber GS No. 1, f. 130-31.

[21] Debt Book, 1754, Frederick County, Land Office, Annapolis, entries under Daniel Dulany and Heirs of Daniel Dulany.

location at one of the important gateways to the west gave them significance to the history of the late colonial and Revolutionary periods.

The key area of Dulany's western lands proved to be the large tract which he purchased at the outset of his venture, Tasker's Chance. This 7,000 acre plot, located nearly in the center of the Monocacy valley holdings, was the proving ground for his promotional activities and eventually the most valuable property. Within a few months after he made the purchase Dulany sold 4,895½ acres in farm units ranging in size from one to three hundred acres.[22] The buyers, almost exclusively Pennsylvania Germans, included the six original option holders and presumably the land seekers they represented. John George Lay and Abraham Miller purchased farms exceeding two hundred acres in size. The whole Brunner family, Joseph and his three sons, Jacob, John, and Henry, took parcels of land in this initial division.[23] Prices per acre were as low as one fifth the original price Dulany paid for Tasker's Chance. Jacob Stoner, one of the option holders, bought two tracts, one of 292 acres and another of 172½ acres for the sum of £25 currency, less than one shilling one pence per acre.[24] One investigator concluded that the sale of nearly five-sevenths of the whole tract far below cost reflected a heavy loss for Dulany. The loss was temporary, however, and was more than compensated by the advance in value of the two-sevenths remaining in his hands. Later sales of small parcels near the original nucleus of settlement ran well above £1 per acre. Most of the remainder the Dulanys retained as rental property which they leased for long terms to tenants.[25]

Dulany realized a further reward for his scheme for settling large numbers of farmers in a compact area. He had noted the differences in natural resources between the west and the tidewater on his first detailed survey of the Monocacy valley. Repeatedly in his letters to Lord Baltimore he emphasized the deep rich lands of " Penn sandy loam," the hardwood forests, and the out-

[22] A convenient tabulation appears in Edward T. Schultz, *The First Settlement of Germans in Maryland* (Frederick, 1896), pp. 48-50.

[23] Land Records, Prince George's County, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Liber BB No. 1, f. 432-33; Schultz, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

[24] Land Records, Prince George's County, Liber BB No. 1, f. 427-30.

[25] Land Records, Frederick County, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Liber J, f. 72-73. For sales from the adjacent tract, Dulany's Lot, see *ibid.*, Liber F, f. 563-564.

croppings of building stone as attractions of the west country. The absence of streams navigable for ocean going vessels pointed to an agricultural pattern different from the planting counties where hospitable inlets and estuaries enabled tobacco ships to anchor at the very doors of planters. The landlocked interior suggested a more self-sufficient economy supplying local demand for products of artisans which elsewhere in the province were imported directly from England. And the settlers themselves, at least the Germans, belonged to an agricultural tradition based on grain and forage crops which required the services of millers and coopers rather than numerous cheap field hands.[26] Inevitably some commercial center would evolve as a market for the farmer's produce and to supply his needs. Dulany did not wait for chance developments. In the autumn of 1745 his surveyor laid out a town site on Carroll's Creek at the eastern edge of Tasker's Chance, with a regular pattern of intersecting streets sixty feet wide.[27]

The 340 rectangular lots, sixty feet wide and from 350 to 400 feet deep, were sold on a novel plan. Purchasers paid sums varying from four to five pounds currency depending on the desirability of the location. The innovation was a ground rent on each lot, usually one shilling a year for the first twenty-one years and two shillings annually thereafter payable to Dulany and his heirs in perpetuity. Some few rents ran as high as three shillings for the first twenty-one years and six afterwards.[28] The institution of this special type of ground rent created a small palatinate in the west with Dulany as lesser lord proprietor entitled by reservation in the deed of bargain and sale to collect income after he had parted with his lots.

Frederick Town, as Dulany christened this community, became a center of artisans and professional men. Michael Stumpf, innkeeper, Valentine Black, shoemaker, Lotowick Young, joiner, Jacob Speck, carpenter, were among the earliest residents. Dulany's clerk wrestled with the unfamiliar names of newcomers. Thomas Schley, schoolmaster, organist, and innkeeper, became Shly in the deeds. Schultz was indifferently Shools or Shoolls.

[26] Richard H. Shryock, "British Versus German Traditions in Colonial Agriculture," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVI (1939-1940), 39-54.

[27] J. T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), I, 484.

[28] Land Records, Prince George's County, Liber EE (1745), f. 514-16; Land Records, Frederick County, Liber E, f. 273-74, and Liber B, f. 575.

One newcomer who received land as Getsitoner later proved to be Christian Getzendanner.[29] Within a few years old familiar provincial names crept into the sale books, Robert DeButts " of Prince George's County, gentleman," Robert Wickham, and Kennedy Farrell. Their arrival indicated the political organization of the new settlements. Until the Germans became politically active, the tidewater settlers furnished local officials.[30]

Dulany was himself busy with plans to erect the western settlements into a new county. Until 1748 the entire western neck of Maryland lay within Prince George's county. The more remote settlers estimated the trip into the tidewater to the county seat cost more than the losses from cattle and horse thieves and preferred taking the loss to incurring expenses of the journey.[31] Of more immediate concern to Dulany was a report that the sheriff of Prince George's County had introduced a charge of ten percent plus a flat fee of fifteen shillings as a commission for collecting quit rents in arrears. Many of the Germans threatened to leave the province rather than submit to this unauthorized imposition.[32] With the careful plans for his western properties in jeopardy, Dulany pressed for action. When the assembly met in 1748, he had mustered support for an act to erect Frederick County and to locate the county seat at Frederick Town. Against some opposition the act passed.[33]

Dulany had an incidental incentive for wishing to set up the new county in which he wielded considerable personal influence. Since the arrival home of his eldest son, Daniel, after an absence of several years at Cambridge and the Inns of Court, the governor had prodded Dulany to find him a seat in the lower house of the assembly where he could support proprietary legislation against the attacks of the anti-proprietary " country party." In the first elections held at Frederick Town during March of 1749 Dulany introduced his son to the electors and had the satisfaction of seeing him returned as one of the four delegates from the new county.[34]

[29] Schultz, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45, prints this assignment.

[30] Land Records, Frederick County, Liber B, f. 262-63; Liber EE (1745) f, 515-16.

[31] Black Books, IX, No. 61, Hall of Records, Annapolis; *Calendar of Maryland State Papers, The Black Books* (Annapolis, 1943), No. 394.

[32] *Archives of Maryland,* XXVIII, 420-21. Depositions appear on 422-424.

[33] Text of the act is printed in *Archives of Maryland,* XLVI, 141-144.

[34] Ogle to Baltimore, February 12, 1749, *Archives of Maryland,* XLIV, 699. Daniel, Jr. was later deprived of his seat in the house on charges of undue election,

The final step toward focussing the life of the west on Frederick Town was made possible by a patent Dulany secured from Lord Baltimore authorizing weekly markets on Saturdays " for buying and Selling all sorts of Cattle and other Provisions of every kind," and for two annual fairs in May and October. This curious document was cast in the formal language of ancient seigneurial grants. By " Our Special Grace Mere Motion and certain knowledge " Dulany was to enjoy " Reasonable Tolls Stallage Piccage Rights Profits Advantages and all Privileges and free Customs " on market days and during the three day fairs.[35] The medieval provisions of the patent were misplaced on the frontier where forage and woodland stalls were nature's gift. In the notice of the first fair held in the fall of 1747 Dulany exempted all comers from payment of the fees Lord Baltimore had granted.[36]

The early settlers on Dulany's Frederick County land, mostly Germans from Pennsylvania, had impressed him as ideal pioneers. In his frequent letters to Lord Baltimore and the proprietary advisors in England he praised their steady habits and skill as farmers. " Pennsylvania is full of them," he wrote. More than once he urged the advantages of encouraging them to come directly to Maryland from Europe. After the establishment of Frederick County Dulany opened correspondence with two merchant houses in Rotterdam, center of German emigration from the lower Rhine, the firms of Dunlop & Company and Rocquette & Vanteylingen.[37] Through their agency ship loads of indentured " Palatines " began arriving directly in the Chesapeake. The traffic soon centered in Baltimore, still a tiny community but favored with the best communications to the agricultural hinterland of western Maryland and southern Pennsylvania.[38] The new arrivals who were not indentured moved directly across to Frederick County in large numbers. Dulany took responsibility for the unfree. " I can assure you that such of the Germans as come here, shall be

ibid., 278, 282-283. At the next general elections he was seated by a comfortable margin.

[35] The patent is recorded in the Chancery Record, Land Office, Annapolis, Liber IR No. 4, folio 69 (of the folios numbered from the end of the volume).

[36] *Maryland Gazette,* September 8, 1747.

[37] Dulany to Messrs. Rocquette & Vanteylingen and to Messrs. Dunlop & Company, both dated December 29, 1752, Dulany Letter Book, Dulany Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

[38] Clarence P. Gould, " Economic Causes of the Rise of Baltimore," in *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by His Students* (New Haven, 1931), pp. 228-29, 237.

protected from all Injurys & oppression so far as it is in my power," he wrote his Rotterdam correspondents.[39]

How he made good this promise of protection appears in one of the rare bits of evidence on his recruiting campaign, a memorial, evidently designed for circulation in the old country. Signed by twenty-five Germans, the memorial recites the advantages of fertile soil, civil liberty, and security of property in Maryland. The final paragraph credits Dulany with one positive act of assistance.

> [Mr Dulany] who Lives at Annapolis, the Capital of this Province, was so kind as to assist us wth 3006 Pistoles & to free us from ye Captains power, we are persuaded that this Gentleman will be Serviceable to aid & assist all Germans that will Settle in this Province.[40]

Dulany had a translation made from the "Dutch Languige" for the eyes of Baltimore, but whether he actually circulated the memorial in the Rhineland is uncertain.

In the nine years from 1744 to his death in 1753 the elder Daniel Dulany laid most of the groundwork for the growth of Western Maryland. After his "discovery" of the Monocacy he went to work systematically to develop the lands he rapidly acquired. It was the fact that Dulany made an enterprise of the back country that aroused the wonder and provoked the headshakes of his contemporaries. He sold farms to the Pennsylvania Germans at bargain prices, actually far below cost. He laid out a town as market center considerably before urban life would normally have developed. More than once he had aided the Palatines by grants of money, by requesting the governor to admonish oppressive officials, and by working for the establishment of a new county which brought justice nearer their doors. And he had taken a hand in diverting part of the stream of German immigrants to Maryland where they worked westward and northwestward from the port of Baltimore. In none of these related activities did Dulany act from motives of charity. He aimed at advancing his fortune and in the unexploited neck of western Maryland he saw his opportunity. Instead of waiting for eventual development he brought his capital and his political influence to a promotional

[39] Dulany to Dunlop & Company, *loc. cit.*

[40] Calvert Papers No. 295½, Maryland Historical Society; *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, 697.

scheme for the area. The great rewards came during the lifetimes of his sons who realized enormous profits from sales of Frederick Town lots and farms from the larger tracts their father had taken up. But the tradition preserved by Marylanders rightly attributed the foundations to the elder Dulany. With justice and grace, too, they recalled how they had once laughed at the old man's folly for dreaming that the wilds were worth the bother.[41]

[41] William Eddis, *Letters from America* (London, 1792), p. 83.

JEROME AND BETSY CROSS THE ATLANTIC

Account of the Passage by the Captain of the *Erin*

By Dorothy M. Quynn and Frank F. White, Jr.

THE story of the marriage on Christmas Eve, 1803, of Jerome, youngest brother of Napoleon Bonaparte, to the beautiful Elizabeth Patterson of Baltimore, is well known on two continents. The details of her repudiation by her husband's family are also familiar. They are based on two books published in the 1870s, the first of which [1] appeared over the signature of a man who got a collection of letters by some obscure means from the warehouse of William Patterson, father of "Betsy." The second [2] of these books may have been inspired by "Betsy" herself, using letters which she or the family supplied. In both cases the letters survive tests of authenticity, although they may have been tampered with in minor details. The narrative in both books, however, goes far beyond the limits of the letters and has resulted in distortion and flights of romantic imagination. One of the best examples of this is the story of "Betsy's" voyage with her husband, their parting in Lisbon, and her long journey to England without him. The traditional version [3] is as follows:

> . . . the emperor expressed his determination to throw Jerome into prison as soon as he arrived, there to remain until he consented to repudiate his wife. . . . Before these threats had reached the United States, however, Jerome and his wife, having failed to secure passage on other vessels, had arranged to sail in one of Mr Patterson's own ships, the 'Erin.' After a quick and prosperous voyage, the Erin arrived at Lisbon on the 2nd of April. Here they at once had proof of Napoleon's despotic power. A

[1] William T. R. Saffell, *The Bonaparte Patterson Marriage in 1803* (Philadelphia, 1873).

[2] Eugene L. Didier, *The Life and Letters of Madame Bonaparte* (New York, 1879).

[3] This account is quoted from Didier, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, 27-28. The version given by Saffell agrees in general, but gives more space to events in the Texel Roads.

French guard was placed around the vessel, and Madame Jerome was not allowed to land. An ambassador from Napoleon waited upon her, and asked what he could do for *Miss Patterson.* To whom she replied, ' Tell your master that Madame Bonaparte is ambitious, and demands her rights as a member of the imperial family.'

Soon after arriving in Lisbon, Jerome hastened to Paris. . . . About the middle of April, Madame Jerome Bonaparte finding that she would not be allowed to land at Lisbon, or any port from which Napoleon had power to exclude her, sailed for Amsterdam . . . when the ship Erin arrived in the Texel Roads, she was ordered off immediately. [Here follow extensive and accurate details about the *Erin* in the Texel] . . . fearing that an attempt would be made upon her life if she remained in the Texel, Madame Bonaparte sailed for England. She arrived at Dover on the 19th of May, and so great was the desire of the crowd to see this now celebrated woman, that Mr Pitt, the Prime Minister of England, sent a military escort to keep off the multitude that had assembled to watch her disembark.

Several sources have recently come to light which modify the familiar version considerably. One of these is the Captain's journal of the voyage of the *Erin,*[4] while the second can be pieced together from entries in several of ' Betsy's ' notebooks.[5] Some further information, and confirmation of the two sources mentioned, was found in Washington in the National Archives and the Library of Congress, and in Paris in the Archives Nationales and the Archives of the General Staff, (Marine).[6] The narrative in more accurate form, we believe, can now be achieved by transcribing the Captain's journal, and placing other sources, *when for the same dates,* in juxtaposition:

[4] Found by Frank White in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. This journal is an unofficial record which the Captain of the *Erin* wrote for his family. It was certainly begun during the voyage, but may have been edited later. He says, " In March 1805 [I left] Baltimore in the Ship Erin, on a voyage to Europe and the East Indies. The principal events which may occur during the voyage as well as the remarks accompanying them are here noted with a view to amuse the leisure hours of some persons very dear to me, as well as to give them some slight information respecting places at which I may touch dur [ing the voyage.]" The journal is undated and unsigned, but is easily identified. It was bought at a public sale in Philadelphia.

[5] Found by Dorothy Quynn in the Bonaparte MSS, Maryland Historical Society. Madame Bonaparte left a number of small notebooks in which she put miscellaneous information. Five of these survive. Except for the lists of her financial holdings, which were in excellent order, there was no system at all, and we find, often mixed together, the addresses of her friends, names of hotels, hotel bills, and inventories of her furniture, clothing, and jewels. Late in life, about 1867, Madame Bonaparte annotated practically every record in her possession. It is always easy to recognize, from the ink and the handwriting, the notes she made at that time. It is not always possible to tell, by this or other means, which of several entries is the earlier, or whether entries are contemporary with the events to which they refer.

[6] By Dorothy Quynn and Frank White.

Captain's journal [7]

My first destination was Lisbon, the ship being engaged to carry Mons. Jerome Bonaparte to that place Madame B. & her friend Mrs A.[nderson] [9] were likewise on board, as were Mr W.[illiam] P.[atterson],[10] brother to Madame B., a secretary,[11] Surgian [sic][12] & four or five domestics of Mr Bonaparte. The Embarkation of those persons on board the Erin was intended to be kept a secret, yet nothing was less so, each of the ladies protested their Innocence of divulging the Voyage, and one of them it is very *possible* may not have spoken of it. But certain it is the great secret was known in my family indirectly from the other one.

Notebook.[8]

Embarked on Board the Erin on Sunday the 10th of March. Left Cape Henry the Tuesday following; arrived in 21 days, after a favourable passage, in the river Tagus.

The passage to Lisbon offered very little to Interest the attention. Mr.[13] & Mrs. B. were both sick during the greater part of the passage, and occasionally Mrs. A. Our time was occupied in Chit Chat or Bagammon on Deck, or at a party of . . . scandal below. The subjects of it could not had they known all that passed been the least offended, for by . . . *no one* was spared.

We found Mr. B. quite an agreable passenger, requiring very little attention, very familiar & extremely good humoured. His secretary Mr. LeCamus I was much pleased with as a man of good understanding and agreable manners. The Surgeon, a Frenchman, full of life and animation—and of a most admirable appetite. Having said something about *talking of absent friends* above I would not by any means thereby insinuate that Mr B. was in that way, or indeed any of the Gents. It was left entirely to the Ladies and could not possibly be in better hands. Jerome always spoke well of the people of Baltimore, and of the Americans in general. He was indeed very little given to detraction, nor did he appear to have any malice in his composition. He has large share of vanity, but not what

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[7] MSS DIV., Library of Congress.

[8] Bonaparte MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

[9] Mrs. Eliza Anderson, a friend of the Patterson family, had been deserted by her husband and seems to have been living from hand to mouth for some years. She accompanied Madame Bonaparte on the voyage and remained with her until her child was born, but she returned to America alone soon afterward. In 1808 she brought divorce proceedings against her husband, and later married Maximilien Godefroy. (Eliza Anderson Godefroy letters, Bonaparte MSS, Maryland Historical Society.)

[10] William Patterson, Jr. (1780-1808), her eldest brother.

[11] Alexandre Lecamus, apparently of a Creole family in Martinique, who came to Norfolk with Jerome and was spoken of as Jerome's secretary during the stay in the United States. He remained in Jerome's service for some years.

[12] Dr. Garnier also came with Jerome from the West Indies and was with him in Baltimore. He remained with Madame Bonaparte until she was settled in England and then returned to the Continent to join Jerome.

[13] In view of the fact that Jerome was a naval officer of several years service, it is somewhat surprising to read of his illness here. If he was addicted to seasickness, this may explain his supposedly unexplained transfer to the army in 1806.

might be expected, family vanity. His is personal, certainly less disgusting than the other.

During the passage we [saw but one] vessel and as we outsailed her greatly, we were not allarmed [at] her being a cruizer. I know not what we should have done had an English ship fallen in with us. A discovery would have taken place, and John Bull would doubtless have made a prize of Monsr. Jerome at least.

Our passage to Lisbon was an uncommonly short one being just twenty one days from the Wharff at Baltimore to anchor at Lisbon.[14] At this port their quarantine laws are very strict, and rigidly enforced. We were thus doomed to lay at anchor before the town of Belem[15] (3 miles from Lisbon) nineteen days so as to compleat the number of *forty days* from leaving your port in America. Those wretches conceiving it necessary you should be that long period from the port you left before you are subsequently pursued to have an intercourse with them. When your ship has come to Anchor it is usual for the commander to go towards the Beach in the Boats having your pilot with you. You are to wait with your boat until your turn comes to be examined and as there are sometimes a dozen boats before you, it is necessary on occasion to have a good stock of patience. I was kept two hours in a very hot sun waiting for my turn. When it arrives by direction of a man on the Beach you are ordered to pull in, two seamen, the pilot and yourself are then marched up to a kind of house where a group of Signiors are assembled to examine you. Which takes place at a window, nor are you allowed to touch the house or anything about it. Your letters are put into a barll of Vinaiger and a piece of Iron like a Chissel driven through them as to mark they have been purified. If there should be anyone on the beach wishing to speak to you he comes directly between you and the wind. And if there are any refreshments to be sent off to you, they are taken down to the Beach and deposited on the Sand. When everyone has retired a hundred yards from them you may advance and take them into your boat. And this farce must be performed every time you want any thing from the shore. All which is born & submitted to with a great deal of Impatience by Seamen, the more so as there [is] more danger of Infection from those careful Gentlemen than there is of communicating it to them.

The news of Mrs Bonaparte being on board the Erin was soon spread at Lisbon, that is among the English & French. As for the Portuguese they are kept in such a state of

Report of the arrival to French Ambassador, Archives Nationales, Paris, MS AF^{IV} 1679, dossier 2, Espagne, pièce 4, April 4, 1805.

The chargé d'affaires in Lisbon reported to the French Ambassador in Madrid, that Jerome had landed, accompanied by his wife; and

[14] This is inaccurate. Having embarked on Sunday, March 10, 1805, and anchored on Tuesday, April 2, the entire voyage consumed twenty-three days. But they were in the Chesapeake until Tuesday, March 12, when they passed out between the Capes. Counting from this day, the length of the voyage could be considered twenty-one days.

[15] Belem (Bethlehem), is an old port inside the entrance to the Bay of the Tagus, and below Lisbon, of which it is now a suburb.

Ignorance that Napoleon himself might have been with us, without their knowing or caring about it, providing he had no troops with him. Great interest was made to have the duration of the quarantine abridged [16] and with such success that five days only of the nineteen were complied with.

'desiring to shorten the unpleasantness of a rigorous quarantine, I saw . . . the chief health officer and got him to reduce it to five days. . . . I then went to pay my respects to Jerome I found him on the beach opposite the ship' . . . he then told me he had arrived with his wife, six months pregnant, her brother, Mr Peterson, and suite, that he planned to go by way of Spain to France, while the ship . . . would take his wife to Bordeaux or Amsterdam because of her condition. He evidently plans only a short stay here.

On the fifth day the passengers landed and the Ship got up to Lisbon.

Mrs. B. and family took lodgings in an English Hotel, where I had the curiosity of Introduction of some distinguished personages to him. Among others, the Pope's Nuncio, the very title he bore will convey a just idea of the person, a canting, whining priest. When he was about to retire Mr LeCamus waited on him down stairs. As he went down he asked Mr LeCamus if he was in the suite of Mr. B. On being answered in the affirmative, he advised him by all means to follow his fortunes, sure, added he, to gain honour and happiness by so doing. FUDGE.

Notebook.

6th of April landed in Lisbon took lodgings in St Paulle Street, walked in some of the principal streets in the evening.[17]

7th of, April, visited the Church of St Roche —saw a superb altar of 3 pictures done in mosaic.[18] in the evening saw the pope's nuncio at our Lodgings.[19]

8th of April, visited the Aqueduct.[20]

It is somewhat remarkable that no Portuguese character of distinction waited on Mr. B. It is true, he was not announced as Mr. Bon. but as Mr. Dalbert.[21] But the same reasons might have prevented the Spanish Ambassador and the Batavian President, as well as many others who nevertheless came.[22] It may, however, been mixed curiosity, and I suppose the Portuguese Gov. were willing to have nothing to do with him and no doubt cordially wish the whole Family of the Bones as the Devil.

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[16] In a letter to his father-in-law written on board the *Erin* the day they anchored, (April 2), Jerome says, 'We shall be obliged to perform a quarantine of 16 days, but I have already found a way for not doing it, and in three days I shall be ready to proceed on my . . . journey.' (Saffell, *op. cit.*, p. 174.)

[17] Possibly the rua Sâo Francisco de Paula, a street near the river, and below the English quarter. In 1908 the Baedeckers showed an English Club at the entrance to this street.

[18] The Church of St. Roch, built in 1566, was one of the show-places of Lisbon. It contained several beautiful chapels with wall-tiles, colored marble, and mosaics.

[19] Madame Junot says the Nuncio was Monsignor Galeppi, Archbishop of Nisibi, whom she considered very shrewd and very charming, but whom Napoleon thought too shrewd. (*Memoires da Madame la Duchesse d'Abrantès* (Paris, 1832), VIII, 228-233.)

[20] This aqueduct, "das Aguas Livres," built in 1729-1749, supplied Lisbon with water from a source some fifteen miles from the town.

[21] Jerome and his wife used the name of *d'Albert* in correspondence after they parted. They may have used it for purposes of *incognito* in travel.

[22] There is no evidence to confirm the story of the visit of these persons.

Mr. Bonaparte left Lisbon 2 or 3 days before us to go by Land to Paris [23] and after a stay of 6 days the ladies, Mr. W. P., the Doct. and some of the servants embarked again on board the Erin for Amsterdam. We had a very tedious and uncomfortable passage, and were twenty-six days before we got up to the Texel River.[25]

Having been off the harbor two or three days and not seeing any pilot, I determined to run the ship in without one. And with no little Risk and Anxiety. About 2 o'clock (on

Notebook.

9th April, Mon mari est parti de Lisbon.

11th April, saw the chapel in the convent at Belem and the Princesses garden some miles from Lisbon.[24]

12 of April embarked on board the Erin for Holland detained until the 17th in the Tagus.

17th of April went to sea.

arrived the 10th May in the river Texel not permitted to land in Holland obliged to go to England.

Library of Congress, MSS Division. Sylvanus Bourne MSS, Wonkle to Bourne, Helder, May 10, 1805.

. . . ship Erin Captain Stephenson from Baltimore. Both ships at present under quarantine.

[23] Jerome was undoubtedly expected in Lisbon, and orders from his brother were awaiting him there. He was to proceed to Turin and Milan by way of Barcelona, Perpignan, Toulouse, and Grenoble, and orders had been given to arrest him if he attempted to leave this route. (*Correspondance de Napoleon I,* X [Paris, 1862], 337.) He may not have confided this news to his wife or other members of the party, who seem to have thought he had gone to Paris. The chargé d'affaires at Lisbon had given him the orders and had notified his superior of Jerome's arrival. He had also sent a message to Badajoz where the courier was to intercept Junot, the Ambassador, who was known to be en route to Lisbon. (Archives Nationales, Paris, Ms AF[iv] 1679, dossier 2, Espagne, pièce 4). Junot and his wife left Madrid on March 29, 1805, and spent two weeks en route, arriving, if their dates have been accurately recorded, on April 11, two days after Jerome had left Lisbon. At an unspecified date, possibly the day after he left Lisbon, he met the Junot family en route and had an interview of some two hours with them over breakfast. (*Memoires da Madame la Duchesse d'Abrantès,* VIII, 107.)

[24] The Hieronymite Convent of Belem, which stood on the site of an earlier building with traditions going back to Vasco da Gama, was built in the early 16th century. It was famous as an example of late and very ornate Gothic. The reference to the ' Princesses garden ' apparently means the gardens opposite the Ajuda Palace above Belem. The palace which now stands on the spot was not built at that time. The gardens are now known as the Botanical Gardens.

[25] When Jerome got his orders to join his brother, he was told that his wife should return to America immediately, and that she would not be allowed to land in France or Holland. (*Correspondance de Napoleon I,* X, 337.) It appears that the original plan had been to land Jerome in Lisbon while she should go on by ship to Bordeaux or some other port, to avoid the difficult trip by land in her delicate condition. It is not clear whether she and her husband had any understanding about this project when he left her in Lisbon.

On the eve of her departure from Baltimore (March 9), Patterson had given his daughter instructions in writing to go to Amsterdam and remain there until her husband should arrange with his family for her reception. If he was unsuccessful, she was to return immediately. (William Patterson to Elizabeth Patterson, March 9, 1805, Bonaparte MSS. Md. Hist. Soc.) Meantime Robert Patterson (1781-1822) had gone to France shortly after his sister's marriage in an attempt to get her position clarified. He was in Paris, planning a trip to Amsterdam on March 17,

the 10th of May) we got round the point of the River in sight of the Shipping. And shortly a Boat pushed off from the town and came alongside. The ship was going so fast there was no time to ask questions. A pilot jumped out of the Boat, and instantly bore away for the Anchoring ground. In a few minutes after a shot was fired ahead of us by a Line of Battle Ship as a signal to bring us to. I asked the pilot if this was customary. He told me it was not. Yet no one suspected anything uncommon from it. We anchored.

Shortly after we were at anchor a pilot boat passed close to the Ship and asked if we belonged to Baltimore. Yes, do you come from Lisbon? Yes. Then said he, You must not come into the Texel, and left us. Our old pilot now seemed to awaken as from a dream and was excessively frightened. He told us that notice had been posted up at Helder (town where pilots reside) forbidding any pilot under the severest penulties to go aboard the ship. A description of the Ship had been given with the notice as long as three weeks ago. He said that on seeing the Ship coming into the Harbour, he had entirely forgotten this prohibition, and concluded by assuring us that if his age did not protect him he would be hung and would no doubt as it was get a severe flogging and imprisonment.[26]

The affair of the gun was now fully explained and it was but too [evident] we should not be permitted to go up to Amsterdam. . . . Those circumstances . . . were mentioned to M[rs.] B[onaparte] by her brother. I need not say they afflicted her very much, as it at once proved to her, she would not be received by the French Government.

About 5 o'clock, a boat came near the Ship and Directed the Pilot to move her up close to the man of war. This order I objected telling them my ship was now in safety, but to overcome my objections another boat with an officer and file of soldiers repeated the orders, and finding opposition would be fruitless, I delivered charge of the ship to the pilot—who got her under way although it was blowing a gale of wind and brought her up within 50 yards of the Sixty four gun ship on one side and a sloop of war on the other, and by way of doubly securing us if it was not already done, they sent two boats to row round us all night, and they let us go to rest, the Dutch Government being kind enough to watch over our safety.

The succeeding day it blew very hard. In the evening the ship swung too near the sixty-four [gun ship] who directed the pilot to remove her a little farther off. An armed Sloop and a row Boat attended us all night.

Having been now near a month of our own port [27] when we expected to have been in Amsterdam, on leaving Lisbon in a fortnight, our fresh provisions were all consumed, and we found ourselves reduced to salt Beef

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1805 (Saffell, *op. cit.*, p. 169-170), unaware that his sister and her husband had sailed. He was in Amsterdam when they arrived in Lisbon, and wrote them, either at Lisbon or Helder, advising them to go to Emden. (Saffell, *op. cit.*, p. 185.) He was apparently unsuccessful in getting a letter put on board at Helder.

[26] The pilot was imprisoned. (Letter of Robert Patterson, May 11, 1805, Saffell, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[27] This must be an error. They were two months out of Baltimore.

and Biscuit, fare not very well relished by passengers particularly ladies. We therefore stated our wants to our satellite the sloop, as she was nearest to us, and repeated them many times to no effect. To all of which some one on board with true Dutch Sang-froid answered Yaw, Yaw, and paid us no further attention.

After this apparently useless effort, the Ship agreable to orders . . . was unmoored, although it blew a gale of wind, and was a very unfit time to move a ship. In doing this we came too near the sloop of war. When by way of consoling us for our [lack?] of Breakfast, some one told us that if we came near enough to touch him, they would fire into us, and send us to the Bottom, and that we might fully comprehend the force of his generous offer, he repeated it to us in very good English.

Now tho our situation is bad enough, we could not reconcile ourselves [to the] thought of drowning, especially in a climate as cold as Holland is, where to drown is a double death, as you are sure of being half frozen before you get comfortably full of Water. . . .

I must here observe that no one but the principal officers knew on what account we were thus treated and I learned after my return to Holland that it was a matter of great speculation among people what it could be owing to. Some imagined we had a full cargo of yellow fever. Others thought we were filled with combustibles to destroy the Dutch fleet and the alarms of some were so much heightened as to conceive we might have some designs of taking Holland. It never once entered the heads of those poor people that all this stir was only to prevent a man and wife coming together.

We had now been here four days. The state of uncertainty in which we were with respect to our future destiny, the want of refreshments now very sensibly felt, and the disagreable circumstance of seeing ourselves surrounded by armed force, combined to render us very impatient and Mr. P. urged me frequently to hoist out our boat and endeavor to get on board the Admiral [28] a notice of our wants, and to learn their intentions towards us. But as the Centinels surrounding us were extremely alert, I was convinced that hoisting out the Boats would be a hazardous proceeding. I found however that an Opinion began to prevail among the passengers that I was inactive in the business, and that at least I ought to let them have a Boat to make an effort for the above purpose. I represented to Mr. P. in the strongest manner the risk attending it, without at all convincing him my reasons were good. I therefore yielded to necessity and the boat was put out. But I directed the officer not to proceed after being hailed to desist. I soon s[aw] they were getting the guns on board the guard vessels . . . and by the time Mr. P., the surgeon and four seamen were embarked in the Boat, there was a general hailing from the Ships. Notwithstanding the boat was shoved off, in which I called to Mr. P.—told him it would be madness to push the business any farther as the guns were pointed and matches holding over them. On this the boats put back, and I am convinced had they attempted to go another length of the Boat, they

[28] Ship carrying the admiral or commander of the port.

would have fired into her and sent her to the bottom. The surgeon who was warm for going appeared to be in full as great a hurry to get back, as he did not take time to step into the ship but rolled over the ship's side in on deck. A boat was sent from the Admiral to learn the cause of this tantamaire when I informed the officer of our wants. With this he went to the Admiral and returned immediately to let us know all our wants should be supplied on the morrow.

Library of Congress, Sylvanus Bourne MSS, Wonkle to Bourne, Helder, May 15.

. . . agreable to your instruction requested in your name the reason of the ship Erin being detained contrary to treaty existing between this country and the United States. . . . [Answer was that the], Counsul must apply to the goverment and not to the commander of the port about this.

Wonkle to Bourne, May 17.

Am sorry to inform you that the ship Erin, Capt. Stephensen, this day one o'clock unexpectedly returned. During this day no one has been permitted to come ashore. Have been informed that fresh provisions was sent on board.

The succeeding day brought a full supply of everything, an assortment of wines and liquors, and a very polite message from the Admiral purporting that [if he had] been acquainted with our wanting anything, it should have been supplied before and requesting to know if anything more was wanting.

In the course of this day, I received a written order to leave the port of the Texel, and not on any pretense to return to it or to have any communication with any port or place of the Batavian Republic which order I was to obey whenever the wind became fair. To this order I replied . . . against that part . . . which interdicted my return & in two days after received a second permitting me to return & accomplish my voyage when I should have landed my passengers in some other country. In pursuance of these orders when the wind came fair we put to sea and after we were outside debated where we should go when it being determined for England, we made for that country and next afternoon anchored off Dover.

Mr. P. landed to make some previous arrangements and on Sunday we hailed into the pier to land the ladies.

The concourse of persons assembled to see Madame B. land was immense and it was with the greatest difficulty she could get as far as the carriage which was in waiting to take her to lodgings. Mrs. A. got lost in a choir of Military Gentlemen . . . and it was some time before she could join Mrs. B. A great crowd was collected likewise at the Inn door and even on the Stairs and Entry to get a sight of our fair countrywoman. I know many American ladies who would have almost sunk under those circumstances and I likewise know one who so far from shrinking at such a crowd. . . .

The attentions shewed Mrs. B. did a great credit to the English but John Bull has such a fund of curiosity, it is hard to distinguish whether he was gratifying it or exercising his humanity and feeling, I suppose a little of both, but when the actions are good, it is unfair to scrutinize the Motives.

Having thus landed my passengers and seen them sett off for London, I felt relieved from a great deal of anxiety, and after a stay of five days I

left Dover and returned again to the Texel. On my arrival I was directed on board the Admiral who simply asked if my passengers were landed and permitted me to go up to Amsterdam where I arrived on the 1st of June.

Our corrected version results in these facts. Jerome and his bride, accompanied by her eldest brother, William Patterson, her friend, Mrs. Anderson, and Jerome's secretary and surgeon, together with several servants, took passage in the *Erin*[29] from Baltimore. The ship, said to have been one of " Mr Patterson's own " did not belong to him,[30] although he may have chartered it for this trip. There had previously been several false starts, partly due to the fact that Jerome had been ordered to return without his bride, whom French ships therefore refused to accommodate, and partly because Jerome and his wife both feared capture from the British ships blockading the Atlantic ports.[31] They finally embarked, supposedly in great secrecy, on Sunday, March 10, 1805, and passed out through the Capes for the open sea on March 12.[32] The voyage to Lisbon was short and pleasant, and on April 2, twenty-one days out from the Capes, they anchored off Belem in the Tagus. Expecting to spend nineteen days there in quarantine, they made no effort to land, but a French chargé d'affaires managed to have an exception made, and on Saturday, April 6, they went ashore to an hotel in Lisbon. They spent two days in sightseeing and shopping, the bride and her husband indulging her love of jewels—$180 for topazes, $38 for two amethysts, two pair of amethyst earrings for $30. They also bought household linen.[33]

Taking LeCamus with him, Jerome left on April 9, supposedly to seek out his brother in Paris to prepare the way for the arrival

[29] MS Register of Vessels, Port of Baltimore (1804-1807), no. 21, Record Group 41, National Archives, gives a description of the *Erin*. The " vessel has one deck and three masts and . . . her length is eighty-six feet and six inches, her breadth is twenty-five feet eleven inches and her depth is eleven feet and . . . she measures two hundred and thirteen tons and 6/95 of a ton and . . . she is square sterned and has no galleries and [has] a woman head [figure]head."

[30] When the ship was built in 1804, it was registered as belonging to two Baltimore merchants, Moore Falls and Daniel Howland, and to no one else. (*Ibid.*, no. 121.) In October, 1804, she was owned by Moore Falls and Stewart Brown of Baltimore. (*Ibid.*, no. 245.) When she was lost at sea, in 1808, she was the property of " William Cooke, Jr., of the city of Baltimore." (*Ibid.*, no. 62.)

[31] Jerome Bonaparte, *Memoires . . . du Roi Jerome* (Paris, 1861), I, 284-287; Saffell, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 89-91, 111-115.

[32] Letter of William Patterson, Sr., to the French Minister, March 17, 1805. (Saffell, *op. cit.*, p. 163.)

[33] Madame Bonaparte's notebooks, Bonaparte MSS.

of his bride, but in reality his destination was Turin in Italy, where his brother then was. After further sight-seeing, the rest of the party re-embarked in the *Erin* for Amsterdam. They were delayed for some reason, and did not get away until April 17.[34] The journey north was slow and disagreeable, as this particular run usually was in the days of sailing ships. It took twenty-six days to reach Helder at the entrance to the Zuider Zee, where ships take on pilots for Amsterdam. But warnings against them had been posted three weeks earlier, and no one was permitted to land. They finally succeeded in getting food and supplies, and proceeded to England, where they landed at Dover on May 19,[35] just ten weeks from the day they left the Baltimore wharves.

After the passengers had left for London, the Captain of the *Erin* left for Holland, and reached Helder on May 30. This time he encountered no difficulties in transacting his business. He then continued on his way to the East Indies.

[34] *Ibid.*
[35] Captain's journal.

COMPTON, TALBOT COUNTY

By Charles F. C. Arensberg and James M. Arensberg

"COMPTON," a home of the Stevens family for almost 200 years, stands 200 feet back from the waters of Dividing Creek [1] in Talbot County. The house faces the southwest and looks down the Creek to the Great Choptank River. Beyond, five miles over water, is Horne's Point on the Dorchester shore, where the older branch of the Stevens family lived when Compton was built.

Both the main house of three stories and the wing of two are built of brick, fifteen inches thick. The plan of the first floor shows the arrangement of the rooms and their dimensions.

As will be seen from the plan of the first floor, there are six entrances: two, into what is now the living room, twenty feet square with six full-length windows; two entrances at each end of the passage that runs across the wing, leading by a raised step at half the length of the passage, into the main house; one entrance into the kitchen and one into the dining room. A second door into the kitchen has long been bricked up.

Every room in the house, both on the first and second floor (except two very small off-level rooms now used as bathrooms), has an open fireplace with well designed mantels, and panelled overmantels in the dining room, library, and the upstairs bedroom over the library.

There are two stairways—one leading from the kitchen in the wing to the bedroom above; and the other rising in a small passageway of the main house, to an upper passage on which the second floor rooms open, and continuing to the third floor where there are three small rooms. Above the living room is the "barracks" as it is now called, a room twenty feet square which opens onto a two-story porch. At some time dormer windows were built, and there is a narrow flight of stairs to an old trap-door in the roof.

At a distance of a few feet from the kitchen door is a base-

[1] Also called LaTrappe Creek.

ment and ground-floor brick dairy ten feet square with barred windows and a "moat" two and a half feet wide and eight feet deep surrounding it. In the ceiling of the upper dairy room is a trap-door reached by a ladder, lashed to the ceiling to get it out of the way. Tradition has it that the unlighted space under the eaves is where refractory slaves were confined.

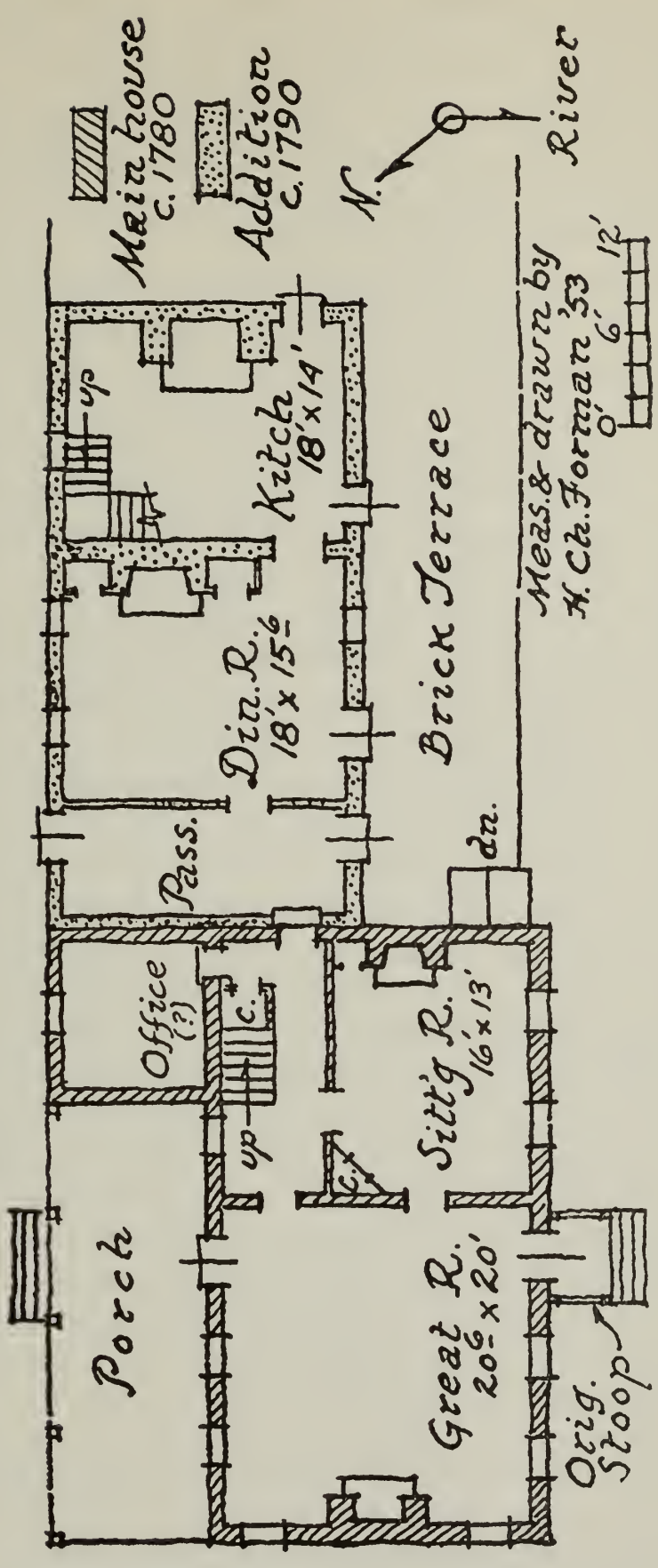
No one knows exactly when Compton was built. The plantation is mentioned in the will of William Stevens, Jr., dated October 8, 1700.[2] It is known that there was a house there as early as 1685 since Quaker meetings were held that year and later years "att ye house of Wm. Stevens att Dividing Creek." The relative dates of building of the present main house and its wing are conjectual. The fact that a window opens through an interior wall into the upstairs transverse passageway in the wing points to the main house as the older.

Much of the charm of Compton is its color—the result partly, of the color of the bricks themselves, and partly of the paint or whitewash long since worn away. Henry Chandlee Forman says in his *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* that the bricks have the rose color seen in the depths of the Grand Canyon of Arizona.[3]

For nearly two centuries Compton was the home of the Stevens family. William Stevens, Jr., acquired the land in the year 1679.[4] A 100-acre tract was originally patented [5] in 1664 to James Elvard who named it Compton in honor, probably, of his assignor of the original certificate of survey, Antonio Le Compt, the English cavalier who eventually settled at Castlehaven Point across the Choptank from Compton and whose household goods from England had taken up the holds of three ships.[6]

In the deed to Stevens it is recited that Elvard sold the land Compton, together with two adjoining 100-acre lots called "Edmondson's Lower Cove" and "Elvard's Purchase" to John Ashcomb of Calvert County, who, in turn, sold it to Charles Gorsuch, Steven's grantor. Oddly enough, there was another patent for Compton and the adjoining lands dated 1668 and cer-

[2] Liber 11, Wills T. B. (1701-1703), f. 106, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[3] (Easton, 1934), p. 197.
[4] Land Record, Talbot County, Md., I, f. 329. The deed is dated Feb. 4 and was recorded on Feb. 9, 1679.
[5] Liber CC, f. 122, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[6] Hulbert Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* (New York, 1944), pp. 175-176.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF COMPTON

Courtesy, Dr. Henry Chandlee Forman

tified to Nathaniel Ashcomb. Ashchomb's claims under the later patent were abandoned, for some years later in the Rent Roll for Talbot and Queen Anne's Counties it is recited that

> the land surv[ey] of Nov. 1668 for Nathan. Ashcomb on the North Side Choptank River in the Dividing Creek . . . has been neglected by Ashcomb for many years and is presumed to be taken up by other names and now held by the widow of William Stevens.[7]

Stevens was the son of William Stevens, Sr., the immigrant who eventually settled on Horne's Point, across the Choptank from Compton and who with his wife Magdalen was buried on the Dorchester shore 250 years ago on land later known as the "Huffington Farm." They died in 1679 and 1684 and their graves are said to be the oldest recognizable graves in Dorchester County. The headstones have since been moved to Christ Church graveyard in Cambridge near the brick wall on High Street.

The elder Stevens —of "Dorset"—served as a justice of the peace and was a member of the Provincial Assembly. He was active in early Talbot County history, giving the Lord Proprietary 30 acres "for the settling and the building of a town on Tred-Avon Creek in Great Choptank," first called Wilhelmstadt and then Oxford . He was an ardent Quaker. The great George Fox visited him in 1673 at his house "att Choptank," near Horne's Point, the scene of many regular Quaker meetings. Indeed, on the first page of that most remarkable of early Eastern Shore documents—the "Minutes of the meetings of Third Haven Meetings"[8]—it appears that the next men's meeting after the meeting held at Wenlock Christenson's on the 14th day of the 5th month 1676, would be held at William Stevens' house "att Choptank."

His son, who acquired Compton in 1679, had moved into Talbot County certainly before 1673. Fox in his Journal has recorded that after visiting the house of William Stevens, Sr., on the Great Choptank "on the 18th day of the 1st month [March 18, 1673/4] we passed 4 milles by water to a frind's house, William Stephens, wheer frinds mete that had bee[ne] abrode . . . and on the 23rd day we had a glorious meeting."[9]

[7] Rent Roll, Vol. I, Talbot and Queen Anne's, No. 1, f. 69, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[8] These minutes have been kept intact from 1676 to date and are in the custody of the clerk of the Orphan's Court of Talbot County, Easton.

[9] Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond, 1935), p. 502 (note 29).

Again, many years later, the old Tred-Avon " Minutes of Meetings " in referring to a marriage held at the Quaker Meeting House on Dividing Creek in 1726, state that the meeting house was revered in Quaker memory because nearby at the house of William Stevens, George Fox preached in 1673 "' having among his auditors the Judge of the county, three Justices of the Peace, and the High Sheriff, with their wives; of the Indians one was called their Emperor, or Indian King, their speaker, who sat very attentive and carried themselves very lovingly." [10]

Torrence in *Old Somerset* makes the argument that the meeting was held at Compton, but Stevens had a house on Island Creek called " Catlin's Plain " and as he did not acquire Compton until 1679 it is likely the meeting was held on Island Creek. Again, the " Minutes of Meetings " throw some light. While it is noted in the minutes that a meeting in 1679 would " be held at ye house of William Stevens, Junr. at Island Creek," a year later the minutes say that " as Thos. Hutchinson is removed from the house he had of William Stevens, Junr. at Island Creke and also William Stevens lett out his house and planted onto another . . . ," the next meeting would have to be held elsewhere.[11]

Stevens seems to have got into trouble after he bought Compton from Charles Gorsuch in February of 1679. Nearly two years later, in December of 1680 Stevens refused to agree to arbitrate a dispute, apparently concerning Compton, with Lovelace Gorsuch. A commission of Friends was appointed to interview Stevens and report on what he had to say about his refusal to arbitrate and also about his tipping his hat to Lady Baltimore at Oxford. They reported that Stevens' answer to the hat episode was " he did doe it and that the proprietor bid him put it on again," but as for the land, " if Lovelace will have it he must goe to Law for it." [12]

Stevens remained obdurate for another year, apparently, for it is later recorded in the Minutes of a meeting of the 24th day of the 4th month, 1681, that " since Wm. Stevens and his son, John, doe slight the meeting being held at their house and bid friends remove it [i. e. the meeting] if they will, that ye monthly meeting be removed from Wm. Stevens' to Howell Powell's." [13] Stevens seems eventually to have become reconciled, for later, in 1682,

[10] Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), II, 376.
[11] " Minutes of Meetings," *op. cit.*, I (1676-1746), p. 30.
[12] " Minutes of Meetings," *op. cit.*, I, 37.
[13] " Minutes of Meetings," *op. cit.*, I, 41.

Lovelace and he were appointed to purchase land for the "Great Meeting House" from John Edmondson, and thereafter steadily from 1685 until his death, monthly meetings were held at Compton—at "ye house of Wm. Stevens att Dividing Creek." Indeed, as he grew older his temper must have mellowed. As a member of the "Commission to the Indians for the Eastern Shore" he reported on August 23, 1689, to the Governor and the Provincial Assembly that although the Indians had certain grievances, they were "very civill and kind and desire nothing but peace and quietness." [14]

Stevens, like his father, was a Justice of the Peace. His appointment is recorded in the *Archives* for 1671 as Justice of the Peace

to enquire by the oaths of good and lawfull men of yo[r] Co[ty] aforesaid of all manner of ffelonies, witchcrafts and enchantment, sorceries, magic arts, trespasses, forestallings, engrossings, extorsions whatsoever, of all and singular misdeeds and offenses of w[ch] Justices of the Peace in England may or ought lawfully to enquire. . . .[15]

He died at Compton sometime early in the year 1701. His will is dated October 8, 1700, and was probated April 17, 1701. After leaving his son, William, one-half of "Catlin's Plain" on Island Creek he devised Compton as follows:

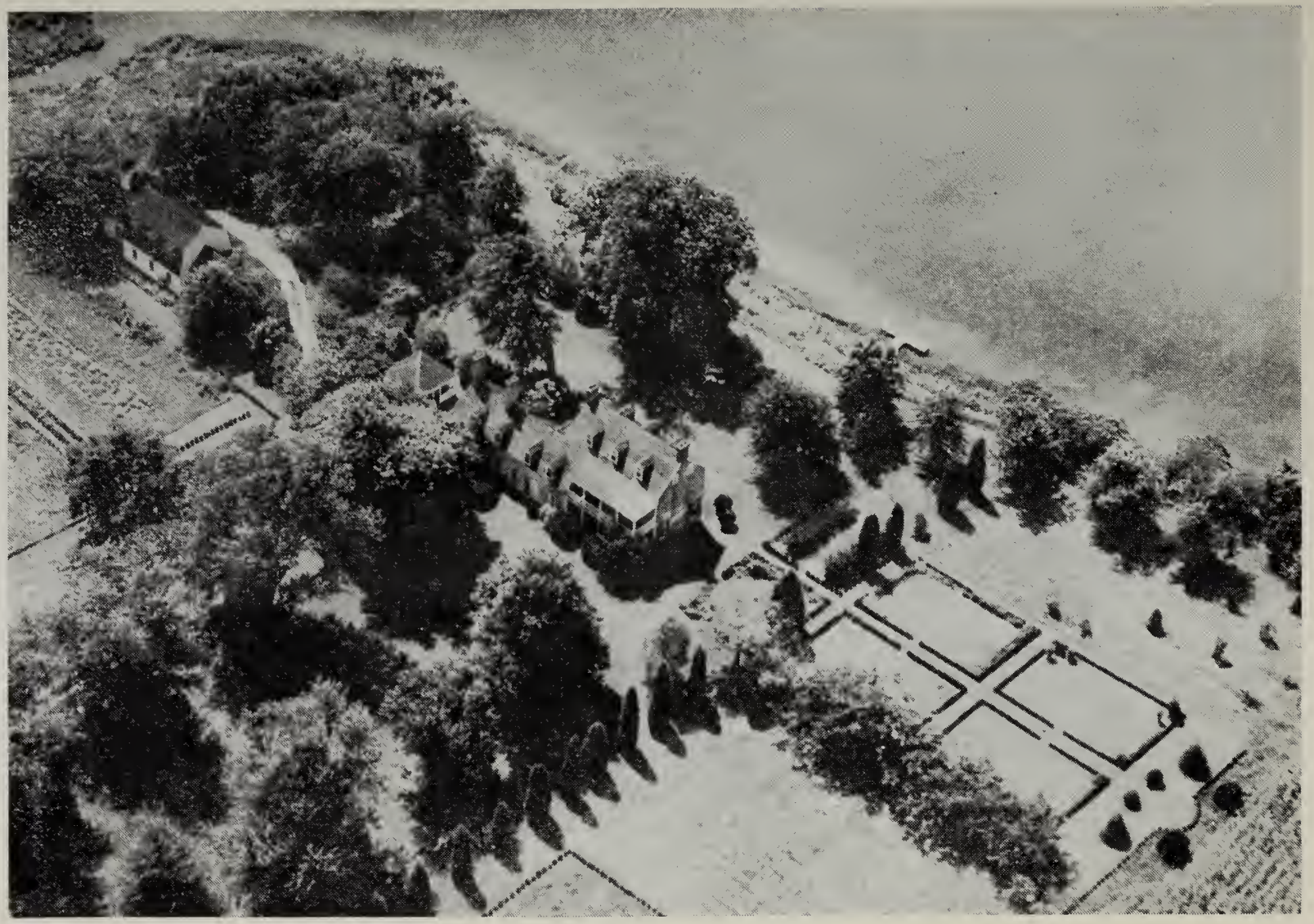
I give and bequeath unto my Son, Samuel Stevens, all the land that I have in Dividing Creek where I now live, called by the name of 'Compton' and Edmondson's Lower Cove to him and his issue lawfully begotten of his body, excepting and reserving in the af[oresai]d bequest all the lower most part of the plantation of land with housing, orchard and fencing which I give and bequeath unto my well beloved wife, Sarah Stevens, to occupy and make use of and to be and for a habitation for her during her natural life. . . .

Besides William and Samuel Stevens, the will mentions John, who was given other land, and three daughters, Mary, Sarah, and Magdalen, who were left land on Fowling Creek. In addition, Mary is given

one feather bed, bolster, rug and blanket with a pair of sheets, two turkey work chairs, one pewter dish, one silver spoon, six diaper napkins, one cowe and calfe. I give her the seale skin trunk that stands in my room, but my wife to have the sole command and use of it during widowhood and no longer, but in case my said daughter should marry with Robert Welsh then I revoke all that I have given her in this my will and give her

[14] Tilghman, *op. cit.*, I, 32.

[15] *Archives of Maryland*, LI, 562.



AIR VIEW OF COMPTON

Asaph Warner's Punch Mark from Spoon
now Owned by Mrs. John Douglas,
Darlington, Harford County

(Description on pages 258-260.)

twenty shillings to be paid her in one year after my decease, if demanded. and this I declare to be my will. . . .

The Welsh farm lies not far from Compton, across the fields and down the road to the ferry to Cambridge, where the bridge now spans the Choptank.

Did Mary marry Robert Welsh? We do not know. We do know, however, that when Sarah Stevens died in 1719 there is no mention of her. Neither is there any mention of William and Samuel both of whom seem to have died before their mother. William had married Elizabeth Edmondson in February, 1695, and had died apparently sometime before 1719, leaving to survive him two sons—Edmondson and William. Samuel, to whom his father had specifically devised Compton, died before his mother, intestate and without issue. The inventory of his estate taken in November, 1708, mentions articles (huchaback napkins, a chest, and two old turkey work chairs) which seem to be the same things that his father had given Samuel in his will of 1700.[16] John Stevens survived his mother as did his sisters, Sarah and Magdalen.

When Samuel died, his share of Compton and Edmondson's Lower Cove vested in his brothers, John and William, and when William died the fee of the land was held by John and his nephews, Edmondson and Williams Stevens. Sarah Stevens' life estate in part of the land ended when she died in 1719 and her son, John Stevens, seems to have taken over the house at Compton, for in 1720 a "meeting" was held at "ye house of John Stevens att Dividing Creek." [17]

There must have been quarreling over the division of the land that William Stevens had entailed to his sons. Arbiters were chosen by the assembled Friends of the meeting to compose the differences between John and his nephew, Edmondson. Later, it is recorded that John Stevens, together with his sister, Sarah Webb, refused to accept the arbiters named by the Friends, and John demanded that a lawyer be named as one of the arbiters. When this demand was not met, John Stevens and his sister "went away in contempt of the meeting." [18]

The dispute was eventually settled and in 1724 deeds were

[16] Clerk of Orphan's Court, Talbot County, Inventory Vol. JB No. 1, f. 456.
[17] "Minutes of Meetings," I, 338.
[18] "Minutes of Meetings," I, 341.

passed between the various joint owners, giving each a part of Compton and part of Edmondson's Lower Cove.[19]

After John Stevens' death in 1742, Thomas Stevens, a son of John Stevens, seems to have taken over the bulk of the Stevens' landholding in Talbot County.[20] By 1766 the Debt Books for Talbot County show that he held 106-2/3 acres of Compton and 174 acres of Edmondson's Lower Cove, along with acreages at other places.

By his will dated December 1, 1781, Thomas Stevens, who died in 1782, gave to his son, John, " all the land lying on Dividing Creek where I now dwell and all the lands lying adjacent to itt, that I have any right or title to; also my still and all that belongs to it; my clock and all the shingles and all the nails." [21] He left to his son, Tristram, for life, the use of a Negro named David and at Tristram's death David was given to Thomas Stevens, the son of John.

John Stevens took over the land and is said to have entertained lavishly there. He seems to have been the same John Stevens who had been dismissed by the Quakers in 1759 because he had " suffered a Dark and Libertine spirit to prevail over him in allowing of fiddling and dancing . . . and also the poppots to be shown in his house. . . ." [22]

John Stevens was one of the justices who on March 14, 1774, sat in the case of Proprietary v. Negro Judith. The other justices were James Dickinson, John Bracco, William Perry, Henry Banning, and John Gibson. The prosecutor was Robert Goldsborough IV, and the sheriff was William Thomas.[23] The record reads, " The jurors present that Negro Judith burned the dwelling house of her master, John Shannahane; she is found guilty, sentenced to have her right hand cut off and then be hanged; she is to be beheaded and quartered; her head and quarters are to be set up in the most public places." The proceedings were attested by John Leeds, clerk of the County Court, and at the bottom of the third

[19] Land Record, Talbot County, Liber 13, f. 131.

[20] Orphan's Court, Talbot County, Inventories (1743-1744), Liber 28, f. 88, and Inventories (1744), Liber 29 f. 400.

[21] Orphan's Court, Talbot County, Will Book 2, f. 93. The will was probated March 1, 1782.

[22] " Minutes of Meetings," II (1746-1771), 227.

[23] The petit jury were Christopher Birckhead, Samuel Dickinson, Joseph Bewley, William Carey, Thomas Harrison, Richard Johns, Robert Martin, Hugh Oram, James Gibson, Hugh Sherwood, Francis Baker, and Levi Batfield.

page is the notation: "Perhaps the govr. may see some of the judges before he orders all this butchery." There appears a further notation: "Read in council April 10, 1774; pardon ordered." [24]

The governor who ordered the pardon was Robert Eden, who apparently had earned the respect of John Stevens despite his reversal of the sentence John and his co-justices pronounced against the Negro Judith. Over a year later, in July of 1775, the Maryland Convention asked Governor Eden to leave the colony. Eden did so, departing shortly afterwards on an English ship of war. However, since the ship's captain violated the Convention's orders the Convention enjoined any and all communication with the ship by any colonist. Later, on the ship's way down the bay with Governor Eden aboard she anchored at the mouth of the Choptank River and John Stevens, along with three other Talbot County residents, sent the governor as a token of their respect some sheep, lambs, and shoats. The local Committee of Observation, of which John Stevens himself was a member, heard about the gift and at a meeting the Committee ordered the arrest of the four Talbot County residents who had sent the gift to Governor Eden contrary to the injunction of the Convention. Those arrested were James Dickinson, William Thomas, Nicholas Martin, and John Stevens. At a hearing held by the Committee, however, all of them were discharged because of their ignorance of the Convention's orders.[25]

John Stevens' loyalty to the new regime remained unquestioned for later in 1788 he, together with the Honorable Robert Goldsborough, Edward Lloyd, and Col. Jeremiah Banning, was chosen as a deputy of Talbot County to attend the General Convention at Annapolis in order to ratify the Federal Constitution of 1787.

John Stevens died in December, 1794. By his will dated December 6, 1794, he gave his son Samuel, all of the lands devised to him by his father, Thomas Stevens, and also "all the lands where I live called Kingston." [26] He admonished his son, Thomas, that he "should behave himself in a sobre and quiet manner." Another son of John, Benjamin Stevens died early in the year and by his will probated April 29, 1794, left everything to

[24] *Calendar of Maryland State Papers, The Black Books* (Annapolis, 1943), No. 1464.

[25] Tilghman, *op. cit.*, I, 94-95.

[26] Orphan's Court, Talbot County, Will Book 5, f. 12. The will was probated December 16, 1794.

his father. Another son, William Stevens, died the following year, leaving a will probated on July 12, 1796. Apparently, Tristram, who was given the use of the Negro David for his life (and at Tristram's death David was to go to Thomas Stevens) had also died because Thomas in his will says that his Negro David should be hired out to pay his debts and after his debts had been paid " my will is that my Negro David be liberated and set free." [27]

Five sons died in two years and only Samuel survived. There were three daughters, however, Henny, Eliza, and Mary Manning. Henny and Eliza were to continue in his " now dwelling house until my son Samuel arrived to the age of 21 years." The will also disposes of a large looking glass " now in the house lately occupied by my son, Benjamin." John himself lived at Kingston, or did when he wrote his will.

Presumably Benjamin lived at Compton. The inventory of his estate, which was made by Sarah Dickinson and Dr. William Maynadier, listed a lot of furniture, a Negro named Hanna, and a number of books including *Conquest of the Heart* in two volumes, Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and a volume on crimes.

Samuel, who was to become the Governor of Maryland, was 16 when his father died and presumably lived with his two aunts, Henny and Eliza, but whether at Compton or Kingston is not clear. Practically all that the writers of this article know about the Governor is derived from Col. Oswald Tilghman's *History of Talbot County*. He had no formal education, but attended a school maintained by the Rev. John Bowie, rector of St. Peter's Church. He was in business in Philadelphia for a short time but returned to Talbot County and spent the rest of his life at Compton. He became in the fullness of time the 18th Governor of Maryland and served for three successive terms. During the terms that he served as Governor religious tests were abolished as a qualification for office in Maryland, and Quakers were permitted to affirm rather than to take the oath which their religion forbade them to do.[28]

[27] Orphan's Court, Talbot County, Will Book 5, f. 153. The will was probated July 12, 1796.

[28] A sketch of the life and career of Governor Stevens (with a picture of a painting of him) is in H. E. Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1908), pp. 95-98.—Ed.

Tilghman says that in the book of proceedings of the Board of Agriculture for the Eastern Shore there is a minute of a meeting of August 31, 1843, saying:

> Governor Stevens appeared this day in a coat and vest which he wore in 1808 and in pantaloons which were 12 years old, but for the great heat of the day he would have ridden his mare which is 28 years old and which has never been struck with a whip or spur under the saddle or in the harness and is still a good animal, so much for taking care of animals and things.[29]

It was this mare that the Governor had ridden nineteen years earlier from Compton around the head of Chesapeake Bay to Baltimore to welcome Lafayette, who returned to visit America in 1824. Governor Stevens welcomed him as the guest of the State of Maryland wearing, says Colonel Tilghman, the " swallow-tailed blue jeans and home-spun coat with brass buttons that he had worn on the ride. The marquis was in his full regimentals, covered with gold lace and foreign orders." Indeed, the Governor boasted in his old age that he had never worn anything but home-spun clothing in his whole life.

It is an unfortunate fact that the Governor is chiefly remembered by the famous gaucherie with which he is supposed to have greeted Lafayette. It is usually reported that he asked the General if he had ever been in America before. As a matter of fact, so Tilghman says, the Governor asked Lafayette if he had ever been in Annapolis before, which was bad enough. [30]

The name of the mare he rode from Compton to Fort McHenry was " Pinwire." It was puzzling to imagine where he got the name until upon re-reading the *Vicar of Wakefield* we came across the name " Pinwire " as " the second fastest runner in England." Perhaps the Governor had joined in the races after church on the track back of the church at the Miles River Bridge and his mare had come out second best.

When the Governor died in 1860, in his 82nd year, he left personalty valued at $30,000, and, by a supplemental account, at $60,000. Apparently his personalty was not sufficient to discharge his debts. His daughter petitioned the Court to authorize a sale of his lands so as to avoid the sale of the slaves " because a

[29] Tilghman, *op. cit.*, II, 624.
[30] *Ibid.*, I, 198.

sale now of that species of property would be attended by great loss to the parties interested." [31]

The "parties" were faced with a still greater loss in "that species of property" on January 1, 1863, as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation. At any rate, permission was given on October 17, 1863, by the circuit court to sell enough of the Governor's real estate to pay his debts. In the first account of his estate credit is given for expenditures made to Dr. Samuel Dickinson and Dr. Hardcastle for medical services to the negroes in 1861 and 1863 and a credit of $5,200 was allowed for certain Negroes, "Bill, Henry, Wesley, Isaac, and Charles," who the account says, "had absconded." Perhaps the effect of the Emancipation Proclamation had as yet not been fully realized except by Bill, Henry, Wesley, Isaac, and Charles.

The proceedings for the sale of the Governor's land for the payment of his debts resulted in the sale of Compton by the Governor's administrators (confirmed August 17, 1863) to James Lloyd Martin, trustee. Martin sold the land to Montgomery Lloyd in 1868 and the property stayed in the Lloyd family until 1918. By a number of transfers Compton ultimately came into the hands of Emily Maynadier Arensberg who died intestate in 1948. She was the lineal descendant of Daniel Maynadièr, rector of St. Peter's Parish at Whitemarsh, Talbot County, until his death in 1745. Her four sons are the present owners.

[31] Clerk of Courts, Talbot County, Chancery Record No. 9, f. 357.

THE ARMY FLYING SCHOOL AT COLLEGE PARK

By William F. Lynd

THE Aeronautical Section, United States Army Signal Corps, was not exactly booming during the years 1909-1910. It was during these early years, when European nations were experimenting so extensively with the possibilities of aircraft in warfare, that the United States lost its initial advantage. This country had purchased its first military airplane in 1909, yet two years later a Congressional investigation brought out the fact that our entire Air Force consisted of one wrecked airplane, one pilot, and nine enlisted men. As a result of this disclosure, Congress authorized the War Department to expend, " for aviation purposes," $125,000. of which $25,000 was to be available March 3, 1911, and the rest during the fiscal year 1912.[1] This was the first aviation appropriation ever made in the United States.

After March 3rd things began to happen. Orders were rushed to the two prominent aircraft producers for three Wright and two Curtiss airplanes.[2] Since some of these were to be delivered to the new flying school at College Park, Maryland, the next, and most obvious, step was to create such a school.

First came the land. College Park was only a small village, but both a highway and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad connected it with Washington, D. C., seven miles distant. Furthermore, on an area which had formerly been marsh land, but was now being used in part as a civilian flying field, the Army in 1909 had trained its first pilots, Lieutenants Frank P. Lahm and Frederic E. Humphreys.[3] So, primarily for these reasons, the Army decided to come back to College Park, this time on a permanent basis.

[1] War Department General Orders # 25.

[2] The Wright's were " Type B "; the Curtiss's were " Type D " and one scout, or " Type E "; James C. Fahey (ed.), *U. S. Army Aircraft, 1908-1946* (New York, 1946), p. 6.

[3] Lahm retired as a Brigadier General prior to World War II. His fame in 1911 was international, as was his father's, and based on his skill as a balloonist.

Humphreys retired as a Brigadier General, and died 20 January 1941.

Lieut. B. D. Foulois, who was the one pilot still on flying duty in March, 1911,

The original field had been small and uncleared, and even the area being used by Rexford Smith, the famous civilian aviator and inventor, was unlevelled, but the Army needed something larger and more "usable." A tract of some 200 acres was now leased, which extended north along the B. & O. property to a series of "goldfish ponds" and east to the Paint branch of the Anacostia river. This gave a maximum cleared runway of 2,376 feet in an east-west direction.[4] The Quartermaster Department had supplied the funds to rent this field at a monthly rate of $325. The agent who put through the deal was Mr. Edwin A. Newman, representing the National Realty Corporation. The Q. M. D. also assumed the responsibility for the task of clearing the land, and allotted a mowing machine, plow, scraper, roller, and two Army mules to the undertaking.

The first new buildings were four temporary wooden hangars 45 x 45 x 11 feet, built along the railroad track according to plans furnished by the Wright Company. Beside them was a small headquarters building, while one of these hangars was used as a barracks for the enlisted men.[5] A tent served as the emergency hospital, and the hangar in the middle of the field from which Rex Smith was operating was moved over to the line of the Signal Corps hangars. With these changes the field achieved a company street a third of a mile long.

Before the field could become a school, it needed personnel. The first officer assigned was First Lieutenant Roy C. Kirtland, 14th Infantry, who reported for duty April 3. He took charge of the construction work at College Park, and in two months had half the field levelled and most of the buildings up. Captain Charles DeF. Chandler, Signal Corps, was ordered east to command the new school. A "ballunatic" of some experience, he had already earned something of an aeronautical reputation. He arrived and

also made three flights with Wilbur Wright in 1909. Before College Park opened in June, 1911, however, Foulois was back on ground duty with the Signal Corps. He served as Chief of Air Corps, 1931-1935, retiring as Major General.

[4] Although newspaper accounts generally give a rough estimate of 3000 feet, the figure used is based on greater authority than a reporter's estimate—Charles DeF. Chandler and Frank P. Lahm, *How Our Army Grew Wings* (New York, 1943), p. 194. Although General Lahm has a large body of papers on his own, as well as those "inherited" from the late Colonel Chandler, footnote citations in this article will be to the published book.

[5] Chandler and Lahm, *op. cit.*, p. 194. According to newspaper accounts, and also to Colonel Stephen Idzorek, who was a sergeant at the time, the men slept in the rear of each hangar; interview February 26, 1952.

immediately took command on June 20, 1911. A surgeon was assigned to College Park in the person of First Lieutenant John P. Kelley, Medical Reserve Corps, U. S. A. Kelley, a Spanish-American War Veteran, had been on duty with the Panama Canal Commission, and was now made the first "Flight Surgeon." He was to remain until he left active duty in the fall of 1912.[6]

The first detachment of enlisted men arrived in June. Two of the 15 "specialists," Sergeants Ward and Idzorek, had been with Lieutenant Foulois in Texas, but could hardly qualify as mechanics extraordinary. So Henry S. Molineau was hired and served for two years as civilian mechanic, a post which has long since been abolished.

But a flying school needs more than ground personnel; it needs instructors. And at the moment the Signal Corps did not have a single pilot on flying duty so the files were searched for applications for flight training. There were few enough, for there was little reason why a young man should try to kill himself in the airplanes of the period. Thus Captain Cowan, the officer assigned to the recruiting job, had his work cut out for him. But he remembered a happy-go-lucky youngster who had served under him in the Philippines, Second Lieutenant Henry H. ("Pewt") Arnold, 29th Infantry, and cabled him the offer to become one of the first students.[7] The other officer selected at the same time, Second Lieutenant Thomas DeW. ("Dashing") Milling, 15th Cavalry, was daring enough to have become the Army's top polo player.

Arnold and Milling were sent to Dayton, Ohio, where they received a few months of training under the Wright brothers.[8] The actual flight time they put in was incredibly short. Over a period of ten days Arnold, in 28 flights averaging eight minutes each, accumulated a total time of three hours and 48 minutes, much of it in landing and taxiing, but nevertheless satisfied his instructor as to his ability to fly. Milling's time of two hours 15 minutes was sufficient to set the first of many aviation records, in which process he become the Army's foremost pilot prior to World War I.[9]

[6] War Department Special Order 141, June 17, 1911.

[7] Benjamin F. Castle to Mrs. H. H. Arnold, March 31, 1952. Castle was a West Point classmate of Arnold's who served with him until he went into the Aeronautical Section.

[8] War Department Special Order # 95, paragraph 10, 21 April 1911.

[9] This opinion has been expressed by Colonel Stephen Idzorek in an interview

Most of the training time was used in studying construction, engines, and winds, with leisure time spent in the balancing machine. The Wrights were well ahead of the common practices and had a well-deserved reputation for thoroughness. Their style of training became practically the basis of the present system.

Most instructors let their fledgling " hop " along on the ground, finally making short, straight flights. Eventually he would learn to turn and to complete a circle. The Wrights, however, went up with their students, first let them handle the controls one at a time, then let them fly the airplane, and at last let them " solo." When Milling and Arnold arrived at College Park on June 15, they brought this latter method of instruction with them.[10]

Meantime, several other officers had been in training under Glen Curtiss at San Antonio, Texas, but with indifferent success. One had been recalled to his branch before his training was completed; one, Lieutenant G. E. M. Kelly, had been killed; while only Captain Paul W. Beck had been " graduated." This training was on a single-seater Curtiss. Beck was ordered to College Park, where he waited over a month for the arrival of his Curtiss, being unable to fly a Wright.

College Park is considered to have gone into operation June 23, just after Captain Chandler took command, but at that time there was still one item lacking — airplanes. The Wright B which Foulois had been flying since April arrived shortly after this, and by July 1 a second Wright B had arrived. Arnold and Milling eagerly set about teaching their first two students — Captain Chandler and Lieutenant Kirtland, respectively. Of the 127 flights during this first month, 56 were carrying passengers or students.

There were, however, limitations as to how much could be taught. One awkward feature was the control arrangement of the side-by-side Wrights. Since Arnold and Milling had learned in the right hand seat, they flew that way. Thus Chandler and Kirtland were trained in the lefthand seat. Unfortunately the nature of the controls was such that a pilot trained for one position could not change to the other, hence, when a right-hand pilot would be called upon to replace a left-hand pilot, there was nothing to do

February 26, 1952, and by General Arnold in " Pioneers of the Air Trails," p. 32. The article was written in 1925 but never published.

[10] Arnold, " Pioneers of the Air Trails," pp. 28-29.

but to revise the equipment set up on the airplane. This situation was finally overcome a year later by duplicate controls.[11]

A greater problem, however, was the lack of knowledge of anyone in regard to the air. Many accidents were blamed on "air holes," huge gaps in the sky, since no one could explain them, and few men lived to tell what had caused a crash. Thus there was actually little enough to teach a student. "We would compare notes after each day's flying so that each could have the benefit of the other's experience," [12] Arnold wrote later. While Atwood, Hoxey, and Johnstone were making national reputations, the pilots at College Park were thus pushing back the frontiers of the unknown.[13]

Today many vast organizations are doing much in the way of research, and the general public never hears of them. This was not true of the Aviation Section in 1911. The airplane then was still a novelty. Since there were only three flying officers in the Army that summer, their names naturally became common knowledge. Newspapermen, such as John J. ("Jack") Daly of the Washington *Post* (still a well known Washington journalist), John Mitchell of the *Star*, and Dick Richards of the *Times*, were in constant contact with affairs at College Park, and kept the names of the officers stationed there well publicized in and around Washington. When, for example, Arnold was trying to set a new altitude record (his favorite pastime all summer), one editorial page carried the comment: "The next time Lt. Arnold tries for an altitude record we wish he would bring the mercury back down with him." [14]

Of course the aviators had something to say also. A report of the newly formed "Cloud Club," which consisted of all pilots at College Park, civilian or military, together with the Navy "non-residents," reads as follows:

At the most recent meeting of the Club the Fair-Haired Boy, who flies a Wrong biplane, said he wanted to take up, as a matter of personal pri-

[11] General H. H. Arnold, "I Learn to Fly in Ten Days," as told to Ernest Jones (editor, Washington *Post*), pp. 4-5.

[12] Arnold, "Pioneers of the Air Trails," p. 39.

[13] Newspapers were fond of using this expression in emphasizing the value of the "Air Service."

[14] Newspaper unknown, date unknown, *Aero Section*, p. 38. General Arnold collected a large number of newspaper clippings on College Park, with no regard as to the newspaper or date. These are pasted in a thick scrapbook labelled *Aero Section, College Park, 1911-1912*. Clippings from the Augusta papers covering the winter of 1911-12 are also included.

vilege, the practise of Washington papers, of killing an aviator every time there was a flight at the Park. The Senior Brunette said that was only too true. The morning papers had him 'narrowly escape death' every day for three weeks in succession. He said he was willing to do anything in reason to keep up interest in aviation and to furnish reading in the public press; but he protested that these narrow escapes from death were becoming monotonous.[15]

The proximity to Washington had a further drawback in the flood of visitors. As one Sunday supplement pointed out, "Visitors come from all over the place. They come by train, trolley, wagons, bicycles, motor cycles, and in touring cars."[16] Officers were instructed to answer patiently any and all questions. Any newspaper of the period carries a list of common questions, and of these the two that appeared most frequently at College Park were "How do they flap the wings?" and 'That isn't the engine, is it? That?" This later question was called forth by the small size of the Wright's four cylinder engine.[17]

An excellent example of the novelty of the airplane can be found in the story of the Atwood hoax. On June 30, Henry N. Atwood, who had startled the country by flying from St. Louis to New York, proposed to fly from New England to Washington. On this date he left Squantum, Massachusetts. All went well as far as Atlantic City, New Jersey. Here a crash on takeoff delayed him for sometime, and later he was held in Baltimore due to bad weather. So for some days, the citizens of Washington were rushing out of doors every time someone saw a box-kite and started the cry "Atwood is coming."

On July 10 "Pewt" Arnold, with Roy Kirtland as passenger, decided to do something about the situation. The following account is from a number of Washington newspapers.

Arnold came across the city and circled the Capitol at 2,400 feet. Streets and roofs were soon covered with people, while the Mall had some 4,000 people on it. The Senate, which was in the midst of a roll-call, hastily adjourned, after such decorous members as Lodge, Penrose, and Root had disappeared through the exits. Vice-President Sherman rounded up some colleagues on the way, and "ignored the speed laws" driving to the White

[15] *Washington Star,* date unknown, *Aero Section,* p. 27.
[16] Paper unknown, date unknown, *Aero Section,* p. 23.
[17] Paper unknown, date unknown, *Aero Section,* p. 26.

House grounds, where Atwood was to land. The Chamber of Commerce burned up the telephone lines arranging for a banquet and inviting guests.

Meanwhile Arnold put on an aerial show for the crowd, then to their disappointment headed back to College Park. Probably the Chamber of Commerce was exasperated, but, from the tone of the newspapers, no one was particularly angry about the episode. Arnold and Kirtland were even able to explain it officially quite easily.

With the arrival of the additional officers in the area in late June, the little field had become crowded. College Park was small, and there were no rooms for rent. Although in 1909 Wilbur Wright had lived nearby with the Evershields, while Lahm and Humphrey had resided at the adjacent home of Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher, no such openings were available in 1911. This meant that the officers lived in Washington and commuted by railroad or automobile, frequently four times a day, since flying took place only early in the morning and late in the evening, when there was almost no wind. Wind or rain quickly grounded the flimsy biplanes of 1911.

It was on a rainy and windy day however, near the end of July that Representative Ben Johnson of Kentucky, Chairman of the House District Committee, went up. It was bad weather all the way, but Johnson had gone to too much trouble to get permission for the flight to let it go by. Lieutenant Arnold finally took him up for a 20-minute flight, thus making Johnson the first man not connected with the Signal Corps to go up in an Army plane.[18]

Late in July Captain Beck and the often rebuilt Curtiss arrived. This airplane, which had been seriously smashed up when Lieutenant George Kelly had been killed and had been generously spread around the Texas landscape since then, was in for another rebuilding. It had hardly arrived before Beck made a forced landing, piling it up in a chicken yard near Laurel.[19]

When Second Lieutenant Frank M. Kennedy, 10th Infantry, reported for training on August 3, the school considered itself as

[18] Paper unknown, date unknown, *Aero Section*, p. 31.

[19] " Chapter III," p. 4. This untitled manuscript of six chapters is apparently a preliminary draft of the first six chapters of General Arnold's autobiography, *Global Misison*.

a school. The Army had at last assigned a student from another station. From this time on the school increased in size and importance, slowly, to be sure, but steadily. By August, two large new 50 x 50 feet hangars were being built. The size of the post was further increased by more enlisted personnel. By November the school boasted six officers and 39 enlisted men.[20]

Due to the low pay of a second lieutenant, and the natural desire to live a little more comfortably, the pilots requested permission to enter various air meets in the larger cities. This permission was readily granted. Captain Beck went to Chicago in August, primarily as an observer, since foreign planes always predominated. Milling won the tri-state meet at Boston, while Arnold, Milling, and Beck all entered the big Nassau Boulevard meet on Long Island at the end of September. Milling set another one of his records in landing. Arnold was able to add even further to his income by flying for two aerial movies of J. Stuart Blacton. Although the Army would not permit its own pilots and airplanes to enter a meet, it readily granted leave to any officer who wanted to enter on his own.

Regulation flying was not called off during these months. The most important flight made was the historic cross-country hop to Frederick. Lieutenant Arnold was pilot and Captain Chandler passenger on this novel trip.

When Brigadier General George H. Harries, Commanding the District of Columbia National Guard encampment at Frederick, received an answer to his invitation to visit the encampment, the telegram had said two planes were coming. However, the second airplane, with Milling and Kirtland, had engine failure, and was forced down near Kensington. Arnold and Chandler, in the Burgess-Wright, left College Park at 6:34 A. M. and arrived at Camp Ordway at 7:23 A. M., making the 42 mile flight without incident. According to previous arrangements, when the airplane was sighted at Frederick, all factory whistles were to blow, in order to give employees the chance to see the first airplane that had visited the locality. Many offices remained closed all day, to allow employees to see an airplane "up close."

After a pleasant day, Arnold and Chandler started for home at 6:30 P. M. A considerable headwind reduced speed, so that

[20] Chandler and Lahm, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

dusk, combined with a haziness of the lower air, seriously impaired visibility. Soon landmarks were invisible, and a forced landing was necessary to find out where they were. A successful landing was made in an open field, but the subsequent takeoff was not as happy, the landing skids being broken. The only thing to do was to leave the airplane where it sat on the farm of G. W. Bartlett, near Gaithersburg. So the pilots climed aboard a train and returned to College Park the easy way.

The next morning Arnold accompanied the truck that went to the scene of the accident. Here he found a young boy charging five cents a customer for the privilege of sitting in the machine for three minutes! The only actual loss was the manufacturer's nameplate, which some "souvenir maniac" had stolen. Since several airplanes had already been rebuilt around these nameplates, the loss of this identification mark was the cause of much of the immediate chagrin at College Park.

This flight attracted attention nationally, but in Frederick it was looked upon only as the first flight over Frederick County. Shortly thereafter the Frederick Board of Trade commemorated the occasion by presenting suitably engraved silver cigarette cases to Captain Chandler and Lieutenant Arnold.[21]

Continually flying over the "enemy" and being unable to do anything but gaze down upon him, finally had its effect on the dashing lieutenants. Since there were no such things as aerial bombs, Arnold drafted Irish potatoes as a substitute. Using a canvas tarpaulin for a target he tried hand bombing with the spuds. His accuracy, however, was very poor.

It was just at this time that Riley E. Scott, former Coast Artillery Officer, appeared at College Park with the first bombsight. This 64-pound sight was affixed to one of the Wright planes and Scott acted as bombardier on most of the experimental flights. Due to the added weight of the sight a light pilot was necessary and Lieutenant Milling was assigned the job. Experiments were quite successful at an altitude of 400 feet. Although Scott recognized the necessity for a bombing altitude of 3,000 feet, the indifference of the Army and the Paris International bomb dropping competition both contributed to the abrupt ending of the experiment.[22]

[21] Chandler and Lahm, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[22] Scott won the Michelin prize for accuracy at Paris. Both Germany and France

As fall closed in, changes began to take place in pilot's clothing. In the past, a reversed cap, to keep it from flying off, was the only badge of the airman. Now Army specifications for airplanes were more rigid. The 1912 models would be heavier, faster, and more powerful. The pilot was changing with it.

It should be pointed out that the Army Air Service was not an isolated body. Airmen were so few that they were all known to each other, at least by reputation. So it was only natural that there was much fraternization between the Army pilots at College Park and the Navy pilots at Annapolis. Thus information and improvements by one branch immediately were passed on to the other. When Lieutenant Arnold was hit in the eye by a bug and almost lost control of his machine, the Army adopted goggles. Shortly the Navy was using them. Flying over water was cold, so the Navy adopted leather jackets and soon they appeared at College Park. When Lieutenant Kennedy hit the ground too hard and was catapulted onto his head some fifty feet away where " he cracked a vertebra, cut his face and made a hole in the ground a foot deep," [23] helmets made their appearance at both stations. But it took a naval accident to introduce the safety belt.

Lieutenant Towers [24] and Billingsley were up in a Wright biplane. Billingsley, the pilot, was thrown clear and killed. Towers, a Curtiss trained pilot, could not handle the Wright controls, but he did manage to balance his weight between the wings sufficiently to reduce the severity of the crash. He lashed himself to the floats, and was only badly shaken up when a boat's crew pulled him aboard. Almost simultaneously, Annapolis and College Park adopted safety belts.

Unfortunately, the latitude of College Park was not conducive to the flying of 40-horsepower biplanes in winter. So a new cold weather site was necessary for the school. There were two requirements—winds of less than four miles per hour and winter temperature above 32 degrees. The Weather Bureau located three points that would be ideal: Augusta, San Antonio, and San Diego. The latter two had been flying fields, but Augusta was

adopted the bomb-sight. The only other " bombardier " in the College Park tests was Sergeant Idzorek. Interview with Colonel S. Idzorek, February 26, 1952; Chandler and Lahm, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-209.

[23] " Chapter IV," p. 5, same MSS described in footnote 19. Even allowing for the exaggerated statement, serious damage was done.

[24] Admiral John D. (" Jack ") Towers was the Navy Air Chief in World War II.

closest. So on the afternoon of November 28 a train of nine cars pulled away from College Park, carrying six officers, 80 enlisted men, and four airplanes. They arrived in Augusta the following day, where, to quote General Arnold "we learned there not to count too heavily on what a weather man says." [25] The weather was freezing.

Soon after their arrival, the pilots nearly lost their airplanes, when a heavy snowstorm threatened to collapse the canvas hangars. By the second storm, they were prepared. According to the citizens, this was the first time since 1898 such storms had appeared.

The two Curtiss pilots, Beck and Kennedy, arrived from Washington in January, 1912, in time for the second storm. Then the snow melted, and the Savannah river came up, flooding the field to a four-foot depth. The only answer was to learn to fly in mud. Here Captain Beck kept up his reputation by smashing a new Curtiss scout into a tree six inches in diameter when trying to take off in a crosswind, the way the Wright pilots were doing. On April 1, 1912, the flying camp was closed and a ten-car train started home for College Park.

Some changes were taking place at the school, meantime. The Quartermaster Department put up hangar No. 7, 50½ by 69 feet, in preparation for the new "weight carrier" airplanes on order. This requirement of additional payload, and later armor, changed the flying machines into military aircraft. When the enlisted men returned to College Park from the South, they set to work using the spare lumber that was left to build a small headquarters building.

On April 11 the Aviation Section grew considerably as Captain Frederick B. Hennessy, 3rd Field Artillery, was transferred to College Park from nearby Fort Myer. Lieutenant Harold Geiger had arrived the day before. These officers reported in time to go to the Aeronautic Exposition in New York in May.

The Aero Club of Washington gave its own Exposition as part of a celebration to honor the memory of Dr. Samuel P. Langley, one of the pioneers of heavier-than-air flight. Three airplanes from College Park, led by Chandler, made the first Army mass cross-country flight to the Chevy Chase Golf Club on May 6.

[25] "Chapter IV," p. 8.

At this time the first " military " airplane arrived. It was designated " Wright, type C." This scout was larger and stronger than its forerunners and had a more powerful engine. Orville Wright arrived to test the airplane and A. L. (" Al ") Welch, a Wright test pilot, came to carry out the tests. Since Lieutenants Milling and Arnold had been trained by the Wrights, and Arnold had taken his instruction from Welch, the last part of May was like " Old Home Week."

This situation made the events of June 11 all the worse. Welch took the airplane up for its 17th test flight. Accompanying him as passenger was Lt. Leighton W. Hazelhurst, Jr., who had joined the group at Augusta the preceding winter. Apparently Welch tried to dive to gain momentum for a climb, but for reasons undetermined he never pulled out of that dive. Both Welch and Hazelhurst were killed instantly. This disaster—the first at College Park—coming only a few days after the unexpected death of Wilbur Wright, had a very depressing effect on all the personnel. Flags even in the village of College Park went to half mast.

One of the best means of restoring a person is to divert his attention, and this is just what Captain Chandler did for School personnel. Colonel Isaac N. Lewis brought one of his first Machine Guns to College Park to have it tested from an airplane. Captain Chandler agreed and undertook the handling of the gun himself. Lieutenant Milling was the pilot.

This early Lewis gun was air-cooled, but otherwise was basically the same as the later model. Chandler fired it under supervision to become acquainted with it. Set at 500 shots per minute, the 50-cartridge drum could be emptied in six seconds.

The first " attack " was made in a Wright B with the gun resting on the cross-bar, along with the officers' feet. Coming along the hanger line at 250 feet altitude, Milling passed over the 6 x 7 feet cheesecloth target three times. Even with no sights on the gun, Chandler made five direct hits on this small target. However, these hits could not be seen from the air, so Milling continued over the fishponds, where Chandler fired a long burst where he could watch the spacing of the shots.

The following day a larger target, two yards by 18 yards, was used with an altitude of 550 feet. Fourteen of 44 shots hit it.

Since this was based as much on Milling's steady flying as Chandler's timing, the rate of hits is surprisingly high.[26]

The press followed these experiments closely, but the War Department explicitly stated that the airplane was suitable only for reconnaissance purposes. Nevertheless, a request for ten Lewis guns was approved by the Chief Signal Officer, but, of course, the Ordnance Department had none in stock. Unfortunately, the Army's Benet-Mercier required a clear space of about 18 inches on each side of the gun, and this was impossible in the airplanes of the period. Thus the results of the experiments were nil.

About this same time Captain Chandler was overtaken by dusk while returning from Annapolis. He located the signal lights of the B & O and followed the railroad to College Park. Burning oil and gasoline markets made possible a safe landing. This aroused interest in night flying, and several pilots, Lieutenant Milling especially, made a number of safe landings in the dark.

As the summer of 1912 progressed, three more officers received their pilot's certificates. Lieutenants Graham and Sherman and Captain Hennessy were now qualified pilots. Lieutenant Graham even got a chance to go along with the others early in August when the Army decided to try aerial observation in connection with the manuevers in Connecticut. During these manuevers, Lieutenant Foulois made several flights, testing out the aerial radio he had developed. The weight of the radio was such that no passenger could be carried, so a telegraph key had to be operated by a hand which was still on the controls. In spite of this difficulty, radioed information was transmitted about 12 miles.

The pride of the aviation section, the new Burgess-Wright "tractor"-type plane, was supposed to be available for these manuevers. The first tractor in the U. S. Army, it had greater power and higher speed than any of its pusher-type predecessors. However, it was at the Burgess factory in Marblehead, Massachusetts. The attempt of Lieutenants Arnold and Kirtland to bring it down to South Duxbury, Connecticut—only 114 miles—is a story in itself.

With the unavailability of its best airplane, several days of

[26] Most data on these tests appear to be estimates, so this account is based entirely on Chandler and Lahm, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-224.

impossible flying weather, and finally Foulois's capture by the "enemy," along with his airplane, the aviation section did not show up too well in this, their first, manuever.

By the time the failure of this mission had worn off, and flights were becoming more common due to Indian summer weather, disaster struck again at College Park.

September 28 was an exceptionally fine day, and some 300 people, including Colonel George P. Scriven, Acting Chief Signal Officer, were at the field to watch flying. Lieutenant Lewis C. Rockwell, who had received his pilot's certificate only three days before, took up one of the Wright planes, with Corporal Frank S. Scott, the airplane's chief mechanic, as passenger. Rockwell came over the hangars at about 25 feet altitude, and tried to open the throttle. Pusher-type propellers would drive the airplane into a dive under the circumstances, and at such a low altitude, he could not pull out. Corporal Scott died instantly. Lieutenant Rockwell was taken to Walter Reed Hospital where he died three hours later.

This made four fatalities for College Park in 1912. These pioneers were proving the hard way that the pusher-type airplane was a death trap compared to the more easily handled tractor. The crashes also had the effect of cutting down on Congressional requests to go up as passengers.

In spite of the obvious danger, new officers kept reporting for duty. For that matter, one could say "in spite of War Department policy to the contrary," new candidates were assigned. Following a new plan of indoctrination, however, they were sent to one of the three aircraft companies—Wright, Curtiss, or Burgess—for elementary instruction, rather than directly to College Park. Even so, there were ten officers on duty at College Park by the fall of 1912, only one of whom—Lieutenant John P. Kelley, the medical officer—was not a pilot.

The first competition for the Mackay trophy was held on October 9. This was to be presented annually to the pilot contributing the most to Army aviation. A specific competition was laid out this time, which required a 20-mile flight, military reconnaissance of troops in a given triangular area, and an accurate landing, with a report of the troops' location, and composition.

The only two competitors were Lieutenants Arnold and Milling,

since Kirtland couldn't get his airplane started. Milling, growing sick, was forced to turn back. Arnold, locating the troops maneuvering near Falls Church, Virginia, was declared the first winner.[27]

In November the Field Artillery Board at Fort Riley, Kansas, asked for an airplane to spot for the guns. As Captain Hennessy was a field artillery officer, he was sent to co-ordinate the efforts of the two pilots, Arnold and Milling, and the batteries. Here many of the signalling problems of World War I first arose.

In the meantime it was getting cold at College Park. Also, Glen Curtiss had offered to let the Army use part of his field at North Island, San Diego. So the War Department split the aviation section. The Curtiss pilots, equipment, and crews went to San Diego, while the Wright men went back to Augusta. For all practical purposes, this ended the Army's use of College Park.

Lieutenant Arnold was returned to the Office, Chief of the Signal Corps. In good old Army style, he was given several jobs " in addition to your other duties." He was Aide to the Chief Signal Officer; Chief of the Aviation Section, Signal Corps; acting Commander of College Park (he was the only officer left.)

Then on the last day of February, 1913, the Wright section at Augusta received hasty orders to report to the Second Division at Texas City, Texas. They were eventually to join the other half of the aviation section at San Diego.

So in the Spring of 1913, Arnold would go out to College Park, clean up what work he had to do in a few hours, and go back to Washington to take in a baseball game. The future Mrs. Arnold (Eleanor Alexander Pool, of Philadelphia), who accompanied him, was shocked at the destruction, as the flying school began to disappear. Piles of office desks and chairs, torn down hangars, and building walls were piled up, covered with gasoline, and burned. As Mrs. Arnold was to learn, government property which is assigned can rarely be reassigned, and the only answer is destruction.

Then in June, 1913, Lieutenant Arnold looked over the field, found all government material removed or destroyed, and informed the Chief Signal Officer that College Park was officially closed.[28]

[27] Lieutenant Colonel Arnold received the Mackay trophy a second time for his bomber flight and photographic mission to Alaska in 1934. He is the only officer ever to have received the trophy twice.

[28] Interview with Mrs. H. H. Arnold, March 27, 1952.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Maryland Imprints, 1801-1810. By ROGER PATTRELL BRISTOL. Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Press for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1953. xxviii, 310 pp. $7.50.

With the publication of Mr. Bristol's work the history of the output of the Maryland press has been carried from its beginning in 1685 to the year 1810, a consecutive record of local printing covering a century and a quarter of colonial life and of the life of the Revolutionary and Federal periods. Mr. Bristol carries on helpfully the work of the present reviewer, of the late Joseph Towne Wheeler, and of Miss A. Rachel Minick in listing the product of the printers of Annapolis, Baltimore, and all other Maryland towns in which the press was established in that period. Because of this continuity of study, Maryland, I believe, stands second to no other colony in the extent of the period for which its printed production has been recorded.

The term of years covered by the present work, 1801-1810, has not in this country the romantic interest of the colonial and Revolutionary periods, nor the feeling of political tension of the period of the Constitution. Rather it was a decade in which a relaxed and prosperous community took stock of itself and settled down upon a sound basis in many aspects of life—social, political, and religious. It was also a period in which occurred a great geographical expansion of the country and a new complexity in its European relationships. Every printed piece of those ten years, in Maryland or elsewhere, therefore, deserves the sort of record Mr. Bristol has made of it in his bibliography.

It is a pleasure to praise Mr. Bristol warmly for his industry and for the employment of various devices which add up to successful bibliographical organization, such devices, for example, as the chronological arrangement of his titles; cross references to earlier bibliographies; references to sources of information about doubtful publications; references to official orders to print; and, finally, to newspaper notices of publication.

On the debit side regret must be expressed, by the present reviewer at least, that Mr. Bristol did not preface his work by a section comprising a narrative account of the Maryland press in his period. Certain economies in the compilation of the list of imprints also seem ill judged. The omission for example, of newspaper entries from the record of any single year of printing in a given community leaves us with an incomplete picture of the life of that year in that place. There are also in Mr. Bristol's book signs of hasty proofreading: the Evergreen Library (page xxviii) was

formerly owned by John W. Garrett, not Robert W. Garrett; the great bibliography of Mason Locke Weems (page x) was by Paul Leicester Ford and his sister Emily Ford Skeel, not by "Weems, Mason L."; Evans's *American Bibliography*, 1903-1934, and Sabin's *Dictionary of American Books*, 1868-1936, were published respectively in twelve and twenty-nine volumes, a fact of significance omitted from the entries of these works of reference.

We return from this digression to the pleasanter task of thanking Mr. Bristol for providing the historian with one more source for the study of an interesting decade in the life of Maryland and of the nation.

LAWRENCE C. WROTH

John Carter Brown Library

The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921. By JOHN TRACY ELLIS. Milwaukee: Bruce Publ. Co., 1952. 2 vols. $17.50.

James Cardinal Gibbons was the second Cardinal of the Catholic Church in America. His life and work coincided with a period of great stress in the development of both the United States and the Catholic Church. His student days at St. Charles College were shadowed by the Know Nothing mobs in nearby Baltimore. Ordained in 1861, young Gibbons spent the war years as a parish priest in a Baltimore unhappily divided against itself. When raised to the vicariate as Bishop of North Carolina in 1868, he spent four years in the aftermath of war among a defeated people. Five years as Bishop of Richmond followed and from 1877 to his death in 1921 Gibbons was Archbishop of Baltimore. When only fifty-two James Gibbons received the Red Hat of a Prince of the Church. As a leading American prelate the young Cardinal was deeply involved with the difficult problems occasioned by the tremendous tide of migration to the United States. The relative ease with which diverse foreign born groups were assimilated into the rapidly growing Church was frequently the result of Gibbon's diplomacy and statesmanship.

Throughout his career Cardinal Gibbons insisted he was a citizen first and a prelate second. He missed no opportunity to contrast the strength of the American Church with the obvious difficulties of the Church in France and Italy. He attributed the superior strength of the American Church to its independence of state support and control. Gibbons consistently opposed action by the Vatican on issues related to American politics. He sought to prevent Papal condemnation of Henry George's Single Tax. He fought for the rights of Americans to join the many secret fraternal societies which flourished here and advised against any action from Rome which might have abridged the right of Americans to join the Knights of Labor.

John Tracy Ellis, Professor of American Church History in the Catholic

University of America, has written the definitive biography of Cardinal Gibbons. He has also given historians a long start on a much needed history of the Catholic hierarchy in America. Six years spent in research and writing, obviously a labor of love, have resulted in a worthwhile and scholarly study. It is perhaps unfortunate that the personal detail, which make the Cardinal come alive, were saved for a final chapter. The result of this organization of material is that Gibbons, throughout most of the two volumes, appears to have been a somewhat wooden figure for whose startling rise in the Church hierarchy there is no satisfactory explanation. This lack seems especially unfortunate when it appears that Gibbons' simplicity and sincerity, fully described in only the final chapter, were so near the heart of his success—both within the Church and in the nation at large.

David S. Sparks

University of Maryland

Twenty-eighth Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. Baltimore, 1953. 94 pp.

This *Report*, issued three years after the previous one, contains a well-balanced collection of papers on the influence of Germans in America and in Maryland. It begins, appropriately enough, with Dr. Ernest J. Becker's sketch on the local Society from its founding in 1886. Then follows a survey of German-American historical societies in the country, an address by the late Dr. Albert B. Faust before the annual meeting in 1946. Dr. Dieter Cunz's essay on the immigration and integration of the German-Americans provides a valuable statement of the entire trans-Atlantic movement, especially in its concise summary of German contributions to American life.

Dr. Paul B. Gleis offers interesting comments on Maryland by eighteenth century German travellers, particularly the " Hessians " Riedesel, Schoepf, and Closen. Klaus G. Wust supplies a study of German printing in the Valley of Virginia, with checklists of newspapers, books, and broadsides issued from 1789 to 1834. Baltimore medical history is covered by two items: Therese S. Westermeier's remarks on the Vogeler drug company, and Dr. Cunz's notes on the Wiesenthal genealogy. Original materials include a full translation of William Rapp's letter describing the riots of April, 1861, which wrecked the offices of his paper, the Baltimore *Wecker*; and a recent letter from Mrs. Olive Patton of Frostburg discussing the role played by German miners in the coal strikes of Western Maryland during the 1870's and 1880's.

The editor, Dr. A. E. Zucker, in an introductory statement, brings up to date the bibliography of items dealing with the Maryland Germans. To him is due much of the credit for this superior example of publication by a small and specialized organization.

William D. Hoyt, Jr.

Loyola College

Epidemics in Colonial America. By JOHN DUFFY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1953. xi, 274 pp. $4.50.

This little volume, written by a non-medical historian, carries much of the quaint charm of the colonial lingo for it is largely a series of quotations from contemporary diaries, letters, and church records over the 175 year span from 1600 to 1775. The story is exceedingly grim and full of family and community tragedy. It will leave most North American readers with a sense of gratitude that those days are gone forever, that malaria and dysentery are no longer the chief causes of economic loss and physical suffering and that smallpox and yellow fever are not the sudden and terrifying killers that they were.

There was no modern medical science, inoculation with true smallpox matter which killed or prevented, as if by chance, had not been replaced by vaccination, and quackery or favorite recipes published in the gazettes of the day or passed from family to family were the chief available remedies. Epidemics were considered "God's anger" for the sins of mankind and "but vain is human [effort to prevent] the Acts of Divine Providence."

There is a fascination, none the less, in being taken into the day-by-day family and community life of the ancestors, when Indians were killed off in droves, military campaigns were halted and legislatures failed to meet because of the prevailing distempers. Governors sent condolences to the tribes but "Epidemics played a notable role in eliminating the Indian menace. . . . Smallpox was the greatest of these Indian scourges. . . . In peace and war epidemic diseases were transmitted to the Indians with devastating results." In addition to the diseases mentioned the records for diphtheria, a great killer, scarlet fever, measles, "hooping coff," influenza, typhoid fever and a few other ills are given, with due appreciation that diagnosis was uncertain and vital statistics in a modern sense non-existent.

In summary it may be said that in spite of the enormous losses of life, the colonial communities recovered rapidly after epidemic visitations, large families were the order of the day, and the population grew steadily and prospered. There is an excellent and extensive series of references and a bibliography, with special mention of the two-volume *Brief History of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases* . . . of 1799 by Noah Webster of the great dictionary, and of the splendid volumes on medicine in early Virginia by Dr. Wyndham B. Blanton.

HUNTINGTON WILLIAMS, M. D.

Seedtime of the Republic. By CLINTON ROSSITER. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1953. xiv, 558 pp. $7.50.

There has been a tendency in American historiography to over-emphasize events in discussing the origins of our Republic. Much less attention has been paid to the intellectual history of pre-Revolutionary times which con-

tributed so significantly to the monumental thought structure underlying the movements for national independence and human freedom. Mr. Rossiter's incisive inquiry into the sources of these vibrant ideas has done much to correct this imbalance.

Seedtime of the Republic is divided into three parts. The first section searches for the wellsprings of the Revolution's libertarian principles by presenting a scholarly tour of the political, religious, economic, sociological and cultural environments of colonial America. In the context of these environments, the role of individuals in molding the climate of opinion from which activities on behalf of freedom and revolution grew is not ignored. The second part, therefore, offers succinct descriptions of the lives and thought of Thomas Hooker, Roger Williams, John Wise, Jonathan Mayhew, Richard Bland, and Benjamin Franklin—"the most notable political thinkers in the colonial period." The last section is concerned with the growing expression of various libertarian ideas between 1765 and 1775, and concludes with a masterful endeavor by the author to organize the principles of the Revolution into a systematized and coherent political philosophy.

In reading this volume, the author's tendency to make generalized statements concerning complex historical problems is apparent. Yet one cannot avoid excusing this proclivity in view of the huge canvas upon which this study is painted. Rossiter's clarity of expression and superb organization more than compensate for this and other minor drawbacks. The scholarly and creative excellence of his attempt to trace the origins of, and to systematize Revolutionary political theory make this volume imperative reading for those who would understand the traditional philosophical framework of American society. *Seedtime of the Republic* is without doubt one of the most significant and stimulating books to appear in many years.

DONALD R. MCCOY

State University of New York, Cortland

America Rebels, Narratives of the Patriots. Edited by RICHARD M. DORSON. New York: Pantheon Books, 1953. xi, 347 pp. $5.

Professor Dorson of Michigan State College has strung together fourteen accounts from diaries, memoirs, journals, and other sources by various Revolutionary War figures of larger and lesser importance. Often dramatic and exciting, always interesting, these accounts provide a survey of the entire Revolution from "Opening Shots" to "Postwar." And, in so doing, the author includes recollections regarding the war in the west, on the sea, the loyalist viewpoint, prisoners of war, etc. While the volume has received praise elsewhere (winner of the American History Publication Society Award), this reviewer believes it will be attractive only to the undiscriminating layman, of little value to the professional historian.

Several of the accounts, for example, were written long after the Revolu-

tion. Israel Potter did not transcribe his tale until the 1820s; Thomas Dring in 1825; James Thacher kept a diary from 1775-1783, but polished it for publication in 1823; no date is mentioned of the actual writing of Thomas Andros' story, but it did not see the light of day until 1833. A natural suspicion is aroused, a suspicion concerning the accuracy and even the honesty of the memory of old men. An effort should have been made to check the incidents they recount, to attempt to corroborate or invalidate their perhaps faulty memories. Professor Dorson offers no comment; in fact, mixes these recollections with on-the-spot diaries and other truly contemporary accounts. Some of the latter are well known to historians—those, for example, of Ethan Allen and George Rogers Clark. Their validity, their bias, (and thus, their relative importance) have been discussed many times. Dorson includes excerpts from these famous sources, sandwiching them indiscriminately with little known memoirs written forty or fifty years later.

In sacrificing the solid for the spectacular, Professor Dorson has omitted such famous Revolutionary War memoirs as those of Christopher Marshall, William Heath, Henry Lee, William M. Willet, David Fanning, and William Moultrie. The choice was his, however, and no fault can be found with Dorson's marvelous introduction and prefatory comments to each selection.

MORTON BORDEN

Ohio State University

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. (Volume VI, 1781-1784.) Edited by JULIAN P. BOYD. Princeton Univ. Press, 1952. xxxvi, 668 pp. $10.

This volume of the *Papers* covers a period of personal crisis in the life of Jefferson. The years 1781-1782 in particular were times of bitterness for him. His political conduct as Governor of Virginia was made the object of calumny, and attempts were made to institute an official inquiry of his actions. This undeserved act of callousness almost led to his complete renunciation of political life. On top of disillusionment with public office was added a more serious blow—on September 6, 1782, his wife Martha died. Jefferson's morale reached the lowest mark of his entire career.

Out of personal tragedy arose the stoic philosopher. Jefferson renewed his interest in political and intellectual activities, and by the conclusion of the volume he had again taken his place among the leading political architects of the nation. He turned his attention to the principles of government in connection with the Virginia constitution, and he took part in the legislative work of the Continental Congress. Among the more important legislative problems in which he played an important part were the determination of the residence of Congress, the Connecticut-Pennsylvania territorial dispute, and the Ordinance of 1784. His work in bringing the latter to fruition deserves to take its place beside his efforts on behalf of the Declaration of Independence and the Louisiana Purchase,

considering the profound effect that the Ordinance of 1784 has had on the destiny and character of the United States. Marylanders will also be interested in Jefferson's participation in the ceremonies at Annapolis when Washington resigned his commission as Commander-in-Chief, December 23, 1783. (Pages 402-409 contain an excellent editorial note on this event.)

Those who are interested in Jefferson as a scientist will find in this volume his growing curiosity about fossil bones and the evolution of his *Notes on Virginia.* The *Notes* began when Jefferson set about gathering information on America in response to some queries sent him by Monsieur de Marbois (François de Barbé-Marbois). Much of the personal correspondence with Clark and Zane, for instance, is in the vein of information gathering.

As in the previous volumes of *Jefferson Papers*, the vision of the editors has made this volume more than a monument to a man: It is a source book of American history. Material of a public archival nature is brought into print, including facsimile samples of government forms Jefferson signed as Governor of Virginia. Some documents relating to the Ordinance of 1784 are here printed for the first time, and scholarly, judicious, editorial notes bring the documents into their historical importance and perspective. All the material of the first six volumes will become more accessible to the reader with the forthcoming index volume.

F. C. H.

The Complete Madison. Edited by SAUL K. PADOVER. New York: Harper, 1953. xi, 361 pp. $4.

This one-volume edition of James Madison's basic writings is a useful supplement to Irving Brant's partially-completed full-length biography of the man who was perhaps America's most formidable political thinker. With the same critical selectivity which characterized his editing of Jefferson's works, Saul Padover has culled the essence of Madison's thought on the nature of government and society. The result is a representative, if historically incomplete, offering. It includes those *Federalist Papers* known to have been written by the Virginian, approximately one hundred letters bearing on religious, social welfare, and other topics, and an appendix of Madisonian axioms.

Generally, these writings confirm Brandt's picture of Madison as a tough-minded democrat. His philosophy was in many respects antithetical to Hamilton's, despite their collaboration on the *Federalist Papers.* Yet it differed from Jefferson's in that it was less speculative and was grounded more on a balance of interests than on faith in the ultimate rationality of man. Thus in certain areas, including the formulation of the Constitution, Madison's contribution was the greater; and in others, particularly those relating to the American tradition of human rights, the lesser.

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

University of Connecticut

The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, Volume II, 1845-1849. Collected and Edited by MARY C. SIMMS OLIPHANT, ALFRED T. ODELL, T. C. DUNCAN EAVES. Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1953. viii, 610 pp. $8.50.

The letters in this volume * reflect almost equally two dominant interests: politics as affecting South Carolina and literary work, now more concerned with editorship and history than with fiction. There are a half dozen letters to Calhoun, whose opinions Simms largely shared, and an active correspondence on literary matters with the northern anthologists, Duyckinck and Griswold, and with Bryant, who was a guest at Woodlands. A letter to Poe in 1846, offering big-brotherly counsel and encouragement, answers a despondent letter from Poe which is not extant. That there was other correspondence is evident from the use by Simms of the phrase " your last letter," but none of it is known to Poe biographers.

Letters to personal friends make it clear that Simms, who served in the State legislature, would have welcomed nomination as lieutenant-governor or a diplomatic mission by an appointment from President Polk, and they reveal so much discouragement with the literary atmosphere of his section that he once toyed with the idea of moving to the North. At the same time they give evidence of his intense loyalty to South Carolina and illuminate its history in a highly significant period. The usual excellence of the editing and the printing of the letters is maintained.

JOHN C. FRENCH

The Johns Hopkins University

Mary Lincoln, Biography of a Marriage. By RUTH P. RANDALL. Boston: Little, Brown, 1953. 555 pp. $5.75.

Disappointing as it often is to have popular legends about historic figures disproved, here is a case where truth is a vast improvement over fiction. Portrayed as, at best, the termagant wife of a noble and long suffering husband, at worst, as a traitor to her country, Mary Todd Lincoln has made a dramatic villainess; but the role of villainess has been out of keeping with her place in history. Here at last is a book whose facts, well backed with authentic records, show a woman who was a loving wife and mother, a keen-minded and informed person, a woman of intense loyalties. Mrs. Randall does not, fortunately, make the mistake of going to the opposite extreme in exposing injustices done to Mary Lincoln. She admits, even points out, certain personality defects. One does have the feeling that perhaps these are excused a little too much as traits beyond her control, as reactions to the difficulties faced by a meticulous woman with such a man as Lincoln. Perhaps a less hysterical, better balanced person would have made a better wife for Lincoln, whatever his own faults. But that is

* Review of Volume I in this journal, XLVII (Dec., 1952), 346-347.

neither here nor there; this is the woman he married, and this book gives every reason to believe he was happy in his choice.

Mrs. Randall brings out many interesting facts about the Lincolns and about William Herndon, Mr. Lincoln's biographer. In refuting Herndon's stories about Mrs. Lincoln, Mrs. Randall goes to some extent into his personality and the reasons for his dislike of his erstwhile partner's wife. One of her most convincing arguments to this reader is how out of keeping with his character are many of the things said to and about his wife attributed to Lincoln. When one analyzes the stories and the man, they become less and less believable.

Mary Lincoln, Biography of a Marriage should appeal to the serious historian as a well-annotated biography and to the reading public as a palatable account of the intimate life of one of its best loved heroes.

CATHERINE M. SHELLEY

The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America. By RICHARD J. STORR. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1953. ix, 195 pp. $5.

The era of graduate study in America formally began when Johns Hopkins University was launched in 1876 under the presidency of Daniel Coit Gilman. Here for the first time in American history eminent scholars were assembled for the sole purpose of instituting a higher level of learning and research than was possible at the college or academy level. The study by Professor Storr ends at the Civil War, but he clearly shows that the Hopkins plan was a product of continuous agitation for educational reform before the Civil War, agitation in which Gilman was an active participant.

Professor Storr's study is based upon extensive research in private papers, university records, and published materials. It is well-written and interesting, although it deals with a kind of material which in more pedantic hands could have degenerated into a hodge-podge of information and data. The problem which faced educators of the early 19th century was how to maintain the traditional curriculum and at the same time provide instruction in the new fields of knowledge, such as science and mechanics, which were rapidly expanding. Several alternatives were available, but by 1861 the issue had not been settled whether to have genuine graduate work or extended undergraduate work. As Professor Storr says: "The prewar reformers left a great deal of unfinished business, but they set the agenda for change."

F. C. H.

Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship. By FRANK FREIDEL. Boston: Little, Brown, 1952. 372 pp. $6.

The first volume of an ambitious definitive biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt is aptly titled. The story of the future President is told up to the end of World War I.

As a young state senator, Roosevelt combined a flair for spectacular headline-making with a solid, intelligent interest in progressive legislative remedies for the economic problems of his constituents. These qualities were combined with a quick ability to estimate political situations, as best evidenced by his success in winning election from a traditionally Republican senatorial district.

As Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President Wilson, he still had the capacity to inspire the spectacular headline but also a willingness to listen to new ideas and to press for strength and revitalization of the comparatively weak American Navy. These two phases of young Roosevelt's early career take up the largest portion of the first volume of the biography. It is obvious that the apprenticeship was reflected in the later career of President Roosevelt as a leader in the economic revolution which accompanied his first two terms and in the military and economic upheaval of World War II.

Many interesting sidelights are revealed—such as the cordial relations between elder statesman Theodore Roosevelt and the young Democrat, a cordiality which apparently did not continue in later years with the Theodore Roosevelt family.

Mr. Freidel does not attempt to embroider his story with interpolations or too many interpretations, but he keeps it interesting throughout. Correspondence taken from the Roosevelt papers at Hyde Park are his principal source material. Future volumes should be able to make greater use of the recollections of participants in the events.

FRANK E. SMITH

M. C., 3rd Mississippi

Ancestry of Richard Dorsey Morgan. By GEORGE VALENTINE MASSEY, II. [Philadelphia, 1953.] x, 160 pp.

That a carefully traced record of the ancestors of an American of early Colonial stock generally shows striking contrasts as regards the backgrounds of the various traceable forebears, is well illustrated in this book on the ancestry of Richard Dorsey Morgan of Delaware, compiled by the well known Delaware genealogist, George Valentine Massey, II.

In the male line Mr. Morgan is descended from Hugh Morgan, a Welsh Quaker who settled near Philadelphia towards the end of the 17th century. Early marriages of Morgan ancestors were with such Pennsylvania Quaker families as Woodruff, Gaskill, Griffith, and McCormick. It was not until the 19th century that a Morgan ancestor, Thomas Phillips Morgan, Jr.

(1853-1928), whose home was in Washington, D. C., married in 1874 a young Maryland girl, Edith May Johnson (1854-1940) of the historically prominent Johnson family of Southern and Western Maryland.

This lady was the daughter of Richard Dorsey Johnson (1820-1900) and his wife, Nancy Douglas Simms, and the great-granddaughter of Roger Johnson (1749-1831), the iron magnate of Frederick County, brother of Thomas Johnson (1732-1819) the Revolutionary Governor of Maryland, who it was that in the Continental Congress nominated George Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the American Armies. Roger Johnson was also a brother of Joshua Johnson (1742-1802) of Maryland, United States Consul at London, 1790-1797, and the father of Louisa Catherine Johnson, wife of President John Quincy Adams. Mrs. Thomas Phillips Morgan's mother, Nancy Simms, was of the prominent Roman Catholic Simms family of Southern Maryland and she also had the blood of such other notable Catholic Maryland families as the Brents, Carrolls, Darnalls, and Digges. The section of the book relating to these families is of especial interest as it is so copiously illustrated with portraits of early 18th century forebears by such well-known early Maryland portrait painters as Justus Engelhardt Kühn and John Wollaston.

A step further back in the Morgan-Johnson line reveals the marriage in 1815 of an ancestor, Richard Johnson (1781-1839) to Juliana Brice Worthington Dorsey, and here we find well written sketches of the prominent old Maryland families of Dorsey and Worthington of Anne Arundel and Baltimore counties; also in this book are found notices of such distinguished Virginia Colonial forebears as the Lees, Corbins, and Ludwells, from which this branch of the Morgan family is descended.

This book, so carefully prepared, has an excellent format. The skeleton chart pedigrees accompany the sketches of each family written up by the author.

J. Hall Pleasants

The Hout Family. By Margaret B. Pittis. Cleveland: 1952. 638 pp.

Here is an attractively presented genealogy, showing abundant evidence of painstaking research. The book is well-arranged, with numerous illustrations, and the first three chapters are devoted to an interesting historical discussion of the environmental circumstances of the Hout family. It is somewhat distressing, however, that the compiler has devoted so much space to detailing the military achievements of the Houts, while neglecting, in many cases, to give any further details beyond mere dates. Miss Pittis' interpretation of things heraldic is also somewhat romantic, but as a genealogical narrative the book is good.

John D. Kilbourne

The Historical Society of York County

Beyond Horizons. By CARLETON MITCHELL. New York: Norton, 1952. 312 pp. $3.95.

Life on sailing ships was always filled with hardships seldom encountered in these days and liberally sprinkled with danger. Within my own recollection, in the last two decades of the 19th century and the first two of the 20th, the shipping news was filled with marine disasters, often accompanied with heavy loss of life. Many of these occurred right in our own Chesapeake Bay, which we are apt to regard as a pleasant lake upon which to take a summer excursion. Much was done in the 19th century to ameliorate these conditions, but as long as sail was the only means of propulsion much of the hardship and danger remained. The uncertainty of the length of the voyage made fresh food almost impossible and the exhaustion of food and water supplies an ever present spectre. The helplessness of a sailing ship on a lee shore provided an element of extreme danger. How much worse conditions were in the 17th and 18th centuries is vividly portrayed in Carleton Mitchell's retelling of some of the histories of voyages in that era. The reader will be filled with admiration for the indomitable courage and dogged perseverance of those who opened up new lands to settlement and commerce by sailing *Beyond Horizons.*

WILLIAM C. STEUART

Freedom's Way. By THEODORA MCCORMICK. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1953. 450 pp. $3.50.

History hangs as becomingly from the charming shoulders of Caroline Matilda Carey as her "cardinal," the long red cloak with a surprise in the lining, which accompanies her from England to Maryland as a convict indentured servant, falsely accused of stealing the Queen's jewels, and recently reprieved from hanging. Her arrival coincides with reports of the disappearance of Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark and younger sister of George III, leading to obvious speculation. More important, it coincides, too, with the rumbling beginnings of the American Revolution. Well-researched, centered in and around Annapolis with side trips to New York and Charles Town and flashbacks to England, the story counterpoints the grievances on both sides and accentuates the conflict of conscience confronting many loyal Tories who were also Americans. Famous names pass through these pages and the burning of the *Peggy Stewart*, Maryland's version of the Boston tea party, is described in fascinating detail. Life on Duane's plantation "Pride" is minutely described, sometimes slowing the pace of the narrative but providing rewarding reading for everyone interested in this important, infrequently written-about period in our pre-Revolutionary history. Caroline Matilda is a triumphant heroine, with some humanizingly roguish lapses, and many of the lesser characters are equally well done.

JOY GARY

The Princess of the Old Dominion. By MARGARET DENNY DIXON. New York: Exposition, 1953.

In *The Princess of the Old Dominion*, Margaret Denny Dixon has recreated the story of the founding of Jamestown, Virginia. Her research has been careful and thorough and from a multitude of facts she has been able to build her personalities into three dimensional people. Since the book is an honest account of reality the men and women in it maintain their traditional characteristics. Ratcliffe and Newport are constantly engaged in evil scheming; Master Hunt is always the good and selfless clergyman; Pocahontas, the Princess, drifts in and out graciously saving lives and bringing food when the settlers are starving. Captain John Smith's qualities of courage and common sense make him, as always in this tale, the dominant figure among a group of men who seem incredibly impractical and contentious.

Mrs. Dixon makes one the irritated spectator of the jealousies, the quarreling, the mismanagement and treacheries of that settlement. She makes one wonder how the Virginia Company of London could have been so misinformed about the country they were trying to develop. How could they have been so stupid, have known so little about Indians as to send presents of a crown and a robe, a bed and bed-stead and ewer and basin to Powhatan?—Although Mrs. Dixon does not mention this, one has read that it was not only a ewer and basin but a complete wash-stand set with all the utensils of gold.

Gold! How pig-headed the gentlemen of the Virginia Company were in their insistent demands that gold be found willy-nilly and sent back to London. How foolish of them to have sent over so many "unruly gallants" who hadn't the slightest idea of how to engage in manual labor or even how to "cooperate with the group." Because of their drinking and dicing, Mrs Dixon tells us, several of these gallants managed to set Ratcliffe's cabin afire and so burn up all of poor dear Master Hunt's precious library.

Crops failed, rats ate the grain, selfish men stole for themselves food from the common store. Always in the forests in the background the Indians were a threat and a danger. There would be fighting and cruel deaths and then for a time peace.

It is a graphic and moving picture that Mrs. Dixon has presented of the Jamestown settlement.

THEODORA MCCORMICK DUBOIS

Historic Philadelphia. Edited by LUTHER P. EISENHART. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1953. 331 pp. $4 (paper), $6 (cloth).

Under the generous auspices of the American Philosophical Society and the editorship of Luther P. Eisenhart, a group of notable scholars have contributed a series of essays to what amounts to a Festschrift to the city

of Philadelphia. This thick paperbound volume, which is quite reasonable in price, is in main devoted to the interests of architectural history with such notable scholars as Harold Eberlein, Agnes Gilchrist, Robert Smith, and Charles Coleman Sellers contributing papers. The book leans toward a scholarly audience and appropriately carries copious footnotes. However, the general reader will find much to intrigue and interest him, for the text is quite readable. Particularly worthy of mention is Gilchrist's continuing study of Strickland, the great American architect. She discusses his fine Exchange building. Those familiar with Sellers definitive work on Charles Wilson Peale will read with interest his story of that artist's museum, and Robert Smith's "Two Centuries of Philadalphia Architecture" will intrigue many in to looking at buildings with more than just a casual glance. Those with other interests will find fare in Arthur Quinn's article on the theatre in Philadelphia, in Henry Allen's work on the Franklin Institute, and in Wainwright's contribution on 18th century fire insurance companies. With such a series of papers, a project as this could easily lack continuity, but all is held in excellent order by a map, which is the result of Grant Simon's Herculean efforts toward a complete cartographical survey of the City. Throughout the book there is no lack of illustrations, some pages having two or three fine cuts.

RICH BORNEMANN

Baltimore Museum of Art

Writings on American History, 1948. Compiled by JAMES R. MASTERSON and ANNA MARIE KANE. Washington: 1952. xxxiii, 462 pp. $2.

At last this volume, the latest in a bibliographical series begun in 1904, is available to all interested in American history. Compiled by a competent editor and able assistant, the 1948 volume offers a comprehensive, annotated bibliography of "every book and article, however brief, that has any considerable value for study and research" from prehistoric times to 1945. Users will find this volume more compact, easier to use, and more effectively organized than previous ones. Marylanders will consult pages 182-186 most frequently. It is to be hoped that sponsorship for the *Writings* newly assumed by the National Historical Publication Commission will assure the prompt appearance of future volumes.

Broadax and Bayonet, The Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, 1815-60. By FRANCIS P. PRUCHA. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1953. xii, 263 pp. $4.

Despite its subtitle this study is not "military history" in the traditional meaning of the phrase. It is rather an account of the non-military services and influences of the United States Army in the development of the

" Northwest frontier," which contained the area of present-day Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and northern Illinois. This area has been selected arbitrarily as a convenient and valid unit for a study of typical non-military contributions of American soldiers in the development of the West.

On the western frontier, according to Prucha, the Army's most time consuming, if not important, non-military activities included law enforcement, garrison construction, subsistence farming, and road building. More incidental perhaps, but more permanently significant in some respects, were scientific services rendered in the making of surveys and explorations and the recording of meteorological observations. As establishments requiring certain economic goods and services, the Army posts provided stimulus to frontier economic activity. As centers dominated by officers and their families possessing some of the social graces and intellectual attainments of a more civilized milieu, the posts also brought " touches of civilization " to wilderness life.

This book is a product of prodigious research in records of the War Department in the National Archives, manuscript collections in the custody of the Library of Congress and several historical societies, and published documentary sources. It is a significant contribution to the literature of the social and economic history of the West and in its own special field seems likely to remain for a long time the most useful and authentic work.

HAROLD T. PINKETT

National Archives

Winchester: The Gun That Won the West. By HAROLD F. WILLIAMSON. Washington: Combat Forces Press, 1952. xvi, 494 pp. $10.

Firearms played an important role in the conquest of the American frontier. Not only was the pioneer forced to seek his food and clothing through his ability as a marksman, but he was also dependent upon his weapon to protect himself and his family from attack. The possession of a dependable weapon was, therefore, of the utmost consequence. In the meeting of that need, the Winchester Repeating Arms Company occupied a conspicious position, for without its famous product it is doubtful whether the winning of the West could have proceeded as rapidly as it did. It is that story which Dr. Williamson has painstakingly and carefully related in this, the only comprehensive history of the company and its development from 1850 to 1931.

The history of the Winchester organization differed little from that of other concerns during the period. This volume, however, tells in a convincing manner both the history of the company, the progressive development of its firearms, and the steps which resulted in its assumption of the indisputable leadership in the manufacture of repeating rifles.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Library of Congress

Centennial and Bicentennial—Nathaniel Rochester, 1752, Thomas Rochester Shepard, 1852. By CHARLES SHEPARD. Rochester, N. Y.: The Author, 1952. 16 pp. $1.

A tribute to two men, one, a business man, office holder (at one time in Maryland) and founder of a city, the other a lawyer, author, teacher, and officer of the Federal government, this pamphlet gives the pertinent facts in the lives and careers of both men. The author, who is a descendant of Nathaniel Rochester through Thomas Rochester Shepard, has preserved in writing two of the little-known but none the less important makers of our history.

The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 1741-1742. Edited by J. H. EASTERBY. Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1953. x, 620 pp. $12.50.

Particular tribute to an editor who maintains standards of scholarship and an astonishing rate of productivity is in order with the appearance of this, the third volume of *The Colonial Records of South Carolina.* This volume, as full of interest as the first two, will be welcomed by every student of American colonial history.

Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Funerals. Copied by ANITA HOWARD. [Alexandria, Va., 1953.] 56 pp.

Here, in usable form (mimeographed booklet), are vital records from the archives of the Old Presbyterian Meeting House in Alexandria. The years covered are 1789-1861. Miss Howard, regent of the local D. A. R. chapter, accepts responsibility for the accuracy of the copy work.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

List of Militia and Oaths of Allegiance, June, 1775. Compiled by MRS. WILLIAM G. BUCKEY. Chestertown, 1953. 36 pp. plus index.

A Brief Account of the Indians of Delaware. By C. A. WESLAGER. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1953. 31 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

ASAPH WARNER, SILVERSMITH

By George B. Scriven

Chance curiosity about a reference in an old account book to the fact that Asaph Warner repaired watches [1] has led to the rediscovery of a hitherto unknown early Maryland silversmith who lived in Harford County. Asaph Warner (who married Ruth Ellicott) was one of a large number of men in the Warner and Ellicott families of English Quakers who provide middle-colony examples of what has sometimes been called "Yankee" ingenuity. In parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania, both before and after the Revolution, if there was a need for someone to mend a watch, make a clock, fix a gun lock, do local metalsmithing in pewter, copper, or silver, run a store, build a water power mill or operate it, there was often a Quaker named Warner or Ellicott in the neighborhood who could do the job.

Asaph (sometimes spelled Aseph) Warner was born in Wrightstown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on August 14, 1758, the son of Joseph and Ruth (Hayhurst) Warner.[2] When about twelve years of age he came with his parents and other relatives to the Darlington neighborhood of Harford County. A few years later he returned to Bucks County where he lived among the Warners who had stayed there. While in Pennsylvania he married Ruth Ellicott on May 16, 1781, and in 1785 moved back to Harford County where he lived to the ripe old age of 92. His shop was on his place, an 83-acre tract of land on the road between Mill Green and Dublin. This land which was part of a grant called "Clark's Demury in Antrim," is about a mile from Mill Green, and northwest of the valley where a small stream crosses the road. It was part of the land which Asaph Warner's father bought in 1775 from Moses Lockhart for £200 covenant money of Pennsylvania.

His father, Joseph Warner, who is described in one of his deeds as a yeoman, was a large land owner who operated a country store on his farm. Asaph's younger brother Silas also operated a store, probably in succession to his father. Asaph's eldest brother was Cuthbert Warner (1753-1838), a Quaker watchmaker and silversmith who is reputed to have been put out of meeting in Pennsylvania for making guns during the

[1] George B. Scriven, "Silas Warner's Journal," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (September, 1951), 208.

[2] Harold W. Osler, *Warner Family Genealogy* (1935), pp. 7, 9.

Revolution.[3] After the Revolution he moved to Darlington where he remained until 1799 when he went to Baltimore. Among the known pieces of Cuthbert Warner's silver is a spoon attributed to his Darlington period. His two sons, Andrew Ellicott Warner and Thomas Warner, who learned their trade from their father, were among the best known of early Baltimore silversmiths. Asaph Warner may have learned silversmithing while in Pennsylvania, or in Harford County from his brother Cuthbert.

The earliest known record of Asaph Warner's silverwork is contained in several pages of a shop ledger which show his dealings with James W. Hall during the years 1798-1802. These pages are filed, rather oddly, under "Genealogy–Warner" in the Harford County cabinets at the Maryland Historical Society. They show that Asaph Warner mended silver of many kinds and also made spoons ranging in price from 86½ cents up to four dollars each. They also show that like many early American silversmiths he not only repaired watches and mended clocks but did other metal working such as mending bells, bandboxes, door handles and locks, harness snaps, umbrellas, and gun locks. On occasion he even sharpened saws.

Asaph Warner was a contemporary of all of the other Harford County silversmiths. These were William Thompson (1774), Joseph Toy (working 1776-1795), Isaac Nicholas Toy (working 1790-1795), and William Wilson (working 1781-1829), all of whom lived in the Abingdon neighborhood.[4]

Mrs. Amy Warner Lackey of Cardiff, Maryland, a descendant of Asaph Warner through his son Silas, tells of a family tradition that Asaph Warner made six large tea spoons for his daughter Ruth Ann on which he engraved RAW in beautiful entwined letters, and six small spoons for his daughter Pamela which had PW in plain letters on them. One of the spoons which Mrs. Lackey had is now in the possession of Mrs. John Douglas, another descendant, who lives at Darlington. This one proved on examination to have Asaph Warner's punch mark AW on the back. This spoon is important for identification as it is known to have remained continuously among Asaph Warner's descendants, and not only shows that he punch marked some of his work with his initials, but shows a clear and authentic example of that mark (see illustration opposite page 221). The workmanship of this spoon and its "blocky" engraving makes it look more like 18th than 19th century work.

Asaph Warner's wife died early, and he continued to live at his home place with his two unmarried daughters Ruth Ann and Pamela, to whom he deeded the place in 1844 after becoming blind. The daughters operated a woolen mill which produced cloth and blankets. A page of their records show that Ruth Ann wove an average of six hundred and seventeen yards of cloth annually from 1813 to 1827, for which she received payment at prices ranging from twelve to twenty-six cents a yard. The

[3] J. Hall Pleasants and Howard Sill, *Maryland Silversmiths* (Baltimore, 1930), p. 196.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 244-252.

location of a woolen mill near the Warner home is shown on Martinet's 1878 map of Harford County.

Since it is known that Asaph Warner worked in the same shop for half a century it is possible, though not certain, that he made a large amount of silver, but so far only spoons are known. If he had dealings with other customers in proportion to those which the brief record shows that he had with James W. Hall, then he must have been doing a great deal of silversmithing at the beginning of the 18th century.

FIRST THINGS FIRST *

The question has been asked of us many times, "How do I go about starting my family history." Naturally the answer to this question is involved and would take volumes to answer—and volumes have been written on the subject. But in spite of the ramifications of the subject and the highly technical material you may later take up, the very first step is to get down on paper every single thing you now know about your family.

Start with yourself as No. 1, your father as No. 2, your mother as No. 3, your father's parents as 4 and 5 and your mother's parents as 6 and 7. Put down the following facts as completely as possible:

Date and place of birth
Date and place of death
Place of burial
Date and place of marriage
To whom married and names of parents of spouse
Various places of residence, occupation, public offices held, war records, schooling. Name of all children of each couple with dates and places of birth, death and residence
Did they own land in any specific location.

In other words, every single thing of interest about each person you can locate. Include great grandparents as far back as possible. Various agenices sell charts and family sheets that make it more or less easy to fill out a page on each person, but these are not absolutely necessary. You can figure out a method for yourself for keeping track of your information.

The average person will remember little he has been told about his grandparents and sometimes even parents. To get the data he wants he must consult his family archives. What are these? Practically anything which will give a name, a date, or a place. Was there a Family Bible? Did anyone keep a scrapbook of newspaper clippings and obituaries? Who has the old family pictures? These may be a gold mine for recalling names and dates. Are there any old letters, deeds, discharge papers pushed back in a trunk? What about the marriage certificate which used to hang on the parlor wall? We know of an instance where a half burned sampler

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* Reprinted, with permission, from the *Forum Exchange* (September, 1952), a news-leaflet published by the Genealogical Forum, Portland, Oregon.

worked by the person in question gave her name, age at the time of working, and the place where she resided. It was embroidered in 1844! Are you close to the cemetery where your family is buried? Make a trip and look at the headstones—you may locate that elusive date and other interesting information.

It is obvious you will want to consult all the older members of the family, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins, for their memories of places and happenings. If they live far away letters will be necessary. This form of letter writing is an art which takes not so much of literary ability as it does of ingenuity, thoughtfulness, kindness, and deep down consideration of the other person no matter who he may be. *Be patient*, this other person may be willing to give you information but may have no idea of what you want or how important a date may be to you. It may take several letters to bring out the exact data you want. *Be specific*, many find short uninvolved questions easier to answer and some find a simple questionnaire beyond their comprehension. Sometimes you may have to use association to bring out information such as "How old were you when such and such a thing happened." But you want their information and it will pay you to be just as tactful in a letter as if you were talking to your grandmother face to face.

Make notes on everything said or written—they may prove to be clues—but make certain to verify, as time goes on, each family tradition. One incident here is enough. We have a letter from an elderly lady in which she mentioned that her mother's father owned slaves and set them free at his death. No proof has been found of this tale but there is ample proof that her father's mother's people owned slaves and set them free. Memories often play tricks like this.

Do you have a relative whose name you may know and the region where he lives—but no specific address. Libraries, chambers of Commerce, and telephone companies in medium sized and larger cities have telephone directories or county directories. A look at these books may reveal the address you want. If the directory for the town wanted is not available—try writing to the public library in the town in question. Always send a stamped self-addressed envelope and write on a sheet large enough that the answer can be jotted down on the lower half of the letter. The answers come prompter if you make it easy for the other person to reply.

If it is just a small place, the postmaster will probably forward a letter. In small places, also, you can ask a postmaster if any members of such and such family are still living there—in case you do not know the names of the living members of the family. Many times you will receive friendly help.

But sometimes none of these methods work and you still would like to contact relatives who lived at a certain place at a certain time. Try an ad in a local paper asking that anyone knowing the whereabouts of the descendants of the person in which you are interested contact you. A small ad can be a paying investment. How do you find the name of the newspaper? You can either write to the post-office or public library in the community in which you are interested or you can consult the following book: N. W.

Ayer & Son's *Directory—Newspaper and Periodicals*, (1952). This book gives name of all newspapers published in the United States along with the names of their editors and when established.

"*Macaroni*"—In connection with the query of Prof. Guiseppe Prezzolini on the use of the word "macaroni" as applied to Maryland Troops,* I have the explanation he requires.

In the eighteenth century macaroni was first introduced into England and it became such a craze that all things were made and done "a la macaroni." This gave birth to a new style of dress for men and all who adopted the shorter coat and hair style and wore lace instead of the stiffly starched collars and cuffs were called "Macaronis." This soon developed into the use of the word for any new, gay fashion introduced at that period. When "Yankee Doodle stuck a feather in his hat and called it macaroni" it meant that he was right in style with the latest fad. The modern Englishman uses "wizard" and "smashing" in quite the same manner today. A "wizard of a hat" today would have been a "macaroni of a hat" in that period.

A full account of this fashion may be found in "Annals of a Yorkshire Family." At the moment, I have no further information as to the author and publisher. This is a two volume set which a friend has in his library. In the event that the Professor Prezzolini cannot find a copy, I am quite sure this set may be had at about ten dollars.

C. William Edelen
49 Chelsea Ave., Newark 6, N. J.

Virginia Historical Society—John Melville Jennings is the new director of the Society, succeeding the late Rev. William Clayton Torrence. Mr. Jennings, who joined the Society staff in 1947 as Librarian, has just completed a tour of duty with the U. S. Navy.

The new editor of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* is William M. E. Rachal, formerly of the History Division, Virginia State Library.

Quaker Neck, Kent County, Maryland—The undersigned and several others are engaged in constructing a map of Quaker Neck which will show the boundaries of the original tracts. It is hoped that the map can be published and with it a brief text containing notes on the original patentees and other data of interest. The project has been undertaken as a contribution to the history of this section of Kent County.

Those having any plats or surveys of lands in Quaker Neck or any other

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* *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVII (June, 1952), 171.

information that would help in carrying the project to completion are requested to communicate either with the undersigned or with Mr. H. Norman Grieb, "Clark's Conveniency," Chestertown, Kent County, Maryland. Mr. Grieb may also be reached by telephone in the evenings or on Sundays at Chestertown 535 J 12.

BARTUS TREW
72 Wall Street, New York 5, N. Y.

Gunston Hall—In connection with the restoration of Gunston Hall, home of George Mason, the regents are searching for pictures of the house as it was in bygone years. Mrs. Thomas R. Cox, Chairman of the Research Committee, has asked the Society to aid in establishing what manner of dependencies flanked the main house, the plantation buildings that were there and where located. Gunston may appear in the background of portraits of the Mason family, or in sketches made by artists and other visitors. The address of Mrs. Cox is 983 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

District of Columbia—The current volume of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (Vol. 50, 1948-1950) contains these articles of Maryland interest: "Stagecoach Days in the District of Columbia," by Oliver W. Holmes; the remarks of George L. Radcliffe at the 55th anniversay meeting; "President Lincoln and His Assassination," by Richard Mudd; and "The Militia and Volunteers of the District of Columbia, 1783-1820," by Frederick P. Todd.

Broome—Need any unpublished information on the following:

1. Parents of Barbara Brome or Broome who m. Philip Dorsey (Jr.) of Calvert Co. ca. 1784; her mother a Brooke according to family tradition. (Children: Martha D. Sutton, Judge Walter Dorsey, Dr. Wm. H. Dorsey, Ann D. Carr, Dorcas D. Simmons, Barbara D. Lyles, Rebecca Dorsey.)

2. Wives of Thos. Brome and Thos Brome, Jr., of Calvert Co., named in 1783 tax list.

3. Parents of Wm. Dawkins Broome and Alex. Broome, listed in Calvert Co., census of 1800.

4. Maiden name of wife of (John) Hooper Broome, Calvert Co., and names of children; he died ca. 1792-8.

Mrs. WILLIAM HENRY PITCHER
215 Longwood Road, Baltimore 10.

Brookhart—Request information re American ancestry of Judge David Brookhart (ca. 1795-1859) recorded as residing at Boonsboro from early youth to 1838 when he removed with family to Jefferson Co., Ky., remaining there until 1852, thence to Harrisonville, Mo. Married Theresa (or Teresy) Funk of Washington Co.

Brig. Gen. E. S. Hartshorn
3133 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington, 8, D. C.

Williamson, Rev. Alexander—Want to know date of marriage of Williamson (1727-1786) to Elizabeth (or Mary) Lyon of Balto. Co.; date of death of wife; also place of interment of each.

A. McC. Dunlop
3500 14th St., N. W., Washington 10, D. C.

Comment on a Recent Review

Dorsey, *Early English Churches in America, 1607-1807.*

In his review of this work in the June issue (pp. 176-177) of this magazine, Mr. Forman says that for its author "to label the cobblestone footings within the Jamestown Brick Church as those of Argall's frame church of 1617 is to repeat a time-worn and hackneyed printed error." This is definitely not "a hackneyed error," but the self-evident, incontrovertible truth. Since this slender foundation lies within the massive, buttressed, three-foot-thick foundation of the brick church of 1639, which can still be seen directly beneath the memorial church's walls, there is no other earlier structure to which this oriented, cobble-and-brick, church foundation can conceivably be ascribed than Argall's church of 1617, with which it agrees closely in width, its length being indeterminate.

The date 1699 for the Jamestown Church tower, which the reviewer impugns, is based on the only known documentary references to this tower, the James City Parish churchwardens' petition of May 17, 1699, "praying allowance from the Publick to help toward defraying the Charge of building a steeple" to this church, and Michel's description of it as having "a tower and a bell" in 1702. The building of the tower in the year when "Jamestown ceased once and for all to be the capital of Virginia" is very easily explained. Since it took from three to five years to complete a massive brick tower in early colonial times, this steeple must have been started not later than 1696, when there was not the slightest reason to believe that Jamestown would ever cease to be the colonial capital or its church the court church. When the colonial government was unexpectedly transferred to Williamsburg, after the Jamestown statehouse fire of 1698, it left the James City vestry "holding the bag," in the form of an expensive and unpaid-for church tower.

As to the " nave foundation and tower " being " in one piece," General Yonge's careful drawing in his " Site of Old James Towne " shows that the tower foundation was entirely separate from and not even in line with that of the church, to which it was joined only at the connecting doorways, as in the case of the similarly separate tower added to the present Bruton Church in 1769. The only existing Virginia colonial church tower that was incontrovertibly original with the church, that of the Old Brick Church in Isle of Wight, has the front wall of the church forming the back wall of the tower, which is not separate as at Bruton and Jamestown. I believe the above is sufficient to meet the reviewer's objections.

George Carrington Mason
Historiographer, Diocese of Southern Virginia

Reply by Reviewer

The review indicated that Mr. Dorsey's text in part was not factual. The following should cover Mr. Mason's points: For evidence that the cobblestone footings within the Jamestown Brick Church of 1647 belonged *not* to Argall's, but to another, later church, the reader is referred to my *Jamestown and St. Mary's* (Johns Hopkins, 1938), pp. 154, 160, 163. The impossible hypothesis that this is Argall's church is also discussed in my *Architecture of the Old South* (Harvard, 1948), p. 80. While today the tower stands apart from the reconstructed nave of the Brick Church of 1647, the *foundation* of the tower joins that of the church. The measured drawing in my *Jamestown,* illustrating this juncture, is the latest and most up-to-date archaeological drawing, made some thirty years after Yonge's plan. Even Yonge in his book admits that the tower because of its " brick bond " belonged to the Brick Church of 1647 and was " not materially injured " by the fire of 1676. As for the 1699 steeple, it was planned for the top of the tower. Apropos of this whole subject of interpreting colonial ruins, the reader is referred to page 82 of *Jamestown,* which outlines the necessary qualifications for the specialist.

Henry Chandlee Forman
Lombardy Orchard, Easton.

CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. HYDE, a Baltimore architect, is a zealous student of early Maryland history. He studied the Hook House decorations on a visit to England last year. ☆ Mr. BREWINGTON is an authority on the maritime history of the Chesapeake. Readers will recall his article on the Bay pilots in our last number. ☆ In the course of preparing a biography of Daniel Dulany, Mr. LAND has made an intensive study of colonial records. He teaches at Vanderbilt University. ☆ Mrs. QUYNN, who last March addressed the Society on the subject of Madame Bonaparte, has contributed frequently to this and other historical journals. ☆ A former member of this Society's staff, Mr. WHITE is now employed in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. ☆ The ARENSBERGS, father and son, are lawyers in Pittsburgh. They have written of Governor Steven's old home now in their possession. ☆ Mrs. H. H. Arnold has permitted Mr. LYND to examine the papers left by her late husband, General Arnold, for the purpose of preparing a biography. The son of Air Corps Maj. Gen. William E. Lynd, he is a graduate of the University of California.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

ecember · 1953

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor* FRANCIS C. HABER, *Associate Editor*

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2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes,* a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, the *Archives of Maryland* and the record of Maryland in World War II under the authority of the State, and other serial and special publications.

The annual dues of the Society are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes,* is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15,* daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 2.

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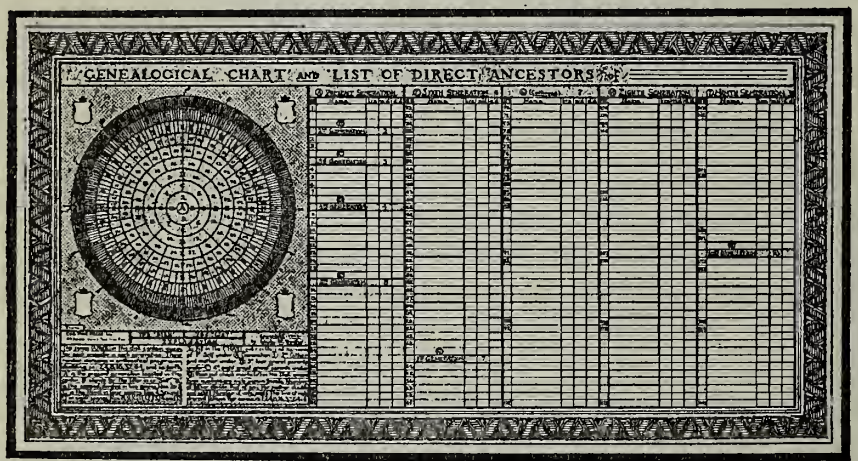

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLVIII DECEMBER, 1953 Number 4

SIDELIGHTS ON THE FOUNDING OF THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD

By Alfred R. James [1]

THE Maryland Historical Society recently acquired twenty-one documents which cast new light on the pre-construction era of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.[2] Two other manuscripts, received in the same group, show the service of the B & O to the Union cause in 1864. The early documents are dated 1827-1830 and form a very rare and valuable addition to the Society's me-

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the staffs of the following institutions for assistance in the preparation of this article: The Maryland Historical Society, the B. & O. Research Library, the Peabody Institute Library, the Enoch Pratt Free Library, the Johns Hopkins University Library, and the Science Museum of London.

[2] A description of the documents and the story of their acquisition appears in *Maryland History Notes,* 10 (November, 1952). Mr. and Mrs. Laurence W. Moltz, of Baltimore, generously presented documents numbered 2, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23 in this article. The remainder were purchased by the Society with the aid of a generous contribution by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Thanks are due Mr. James A. Gary, Jr., for information that led to the acquisition of the papers.

morabilia concerning Maryland's transportation revolution.[3] Together with the James P. Stabler Papers, already acquired, these papers set forth in a revealing manner the early history of a Baltimore-sponsored enterprise which pioneered a practically unknown type of internal improvement—one which regenerated the dwindling trade of a great seaport.[4]

The papers are letters and reports written by various early officials of the Railroad to its first President, Philip Evan Thomas [5] or to its Board of Directors, or were written by persons who desired to bring to the Railroad's attention certain inventions or original methods pertaining to the construction of the road. Considering the fact that no railroad for the transportation of people or general freight had yet been built in this country and only one abroad, in England, it is amazing that so much thought had been given to the subject, not only by the promoters of the road but by others who had learned of its proposed construction and the route to be adopted.

Within the narrow limits of the scientific knowledge of railroads in that era, these papers reflect a surprising vision of the difficulties to be met and overcome and boldly set forth or clearly suggest the means by which to accomplish certain tasks. As a matter of fact, some of the suggestions offered in these letters, amateurish as they may appear today, contained the incipient ideas from which have developed some of the most modern machinery of this later and more highly technical age.

When William Howitt said in 1846, " It is wonderful what an imperceptible change comes over our ideas as things gradually grow out of nothing into reality," the import of Thomas Gray's 1826 treatise on *A General Railway System* had somehow faded, and the credit for his ideas, which were indeed very original and practicable, was given to those who had been exceedingly critical of his work and strong in their condemnation of his " visionary " themes. Of course, there were no railroads in 1826 to write about,

[3] Several of the documents were displayed by the Maryland Historical Society in June and July, 1953, coinciding with the opening of the B. & O. Railroad Transportation Museum.

[4] The standard history of the Railroad is Edward Hungerford, *The Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1827-1927* (New York, 1928). See also Milton Reizenstein, *Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (1827-1853)* (Baltimore, 1897), Johns Hopkins University Studies, XV.

[5] Thomas (1776-1861) served as president of the B. & O. from 1827 until 1836. *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVIII, 442-443.

but Thomas Gray visualized them and from his home in Nottingham, England, he strongly advocated their general use in all parts of the island to supersede canal boats and " stage-wagons " for the transport of people and goods. He was regarded as a dreamer and an intolerable bore. But in 1846, only twenty years later, railroads with locomotives having wagons attached, just as Gray had visualized them, had been built and many more projected, but the credit for their origin and later construction was given to other and less brilliant minds.[6]

Shortly before the publication of Thomas Gray's treatise in 1826, the Pennsylvania Society for Internal Improvements in the Commonwealth, had sent young William Strickland, an engineer and architect, to England with instructions to find out all that he could about " these railroads " and their locomotives, the fame of which was then being heard across the Atlantic.[7] His report to the Pennsylvania Society, together with the inclusive reports of other engineers such as W. Jessop, and the 1825 *Practical Treatise on Railroads* by Nicholas Wood represented the sole railroad text-books of that era.

Thus when the committee of citizens of Baltimore City met on February 19, 1827, at George Brown's residence to discuss railroads, their construction, and their advantages over canals and turnpikes, its members were treading on unknown ground, as Mr. Thomas said later, so far as any knowledge of railroads was concerned. The information available in studies by Wood, Strickland, and Jessop had been gained in the operation of tram-roads and crude types of railroads in the coal mining regions, both here and in England, and to some extent, in the design and construction of the turnpikes and canals which, at that time, were handling the bulk of whatever commodity haulage existed on a larger scale than pack-horses and river arks.[8]

[6] Howitt thought it about time to correct this injustice and did, forthwith, in the *People's Journal,* London, in a quite lengthy article from which the quotation given above is taken.

[7] R. S. Henry, *This Fascinating Railroad Business* (Indianapolis, 1942), p. 28.

[8] " The world is indebted to Oliver Evans . . . for the discovery of their [railway's] latent and hitherto unsuspected value and pre-eminent importance. . . . He foresaw the superiority, and strenuously urged the adoption of Rail-ways . . . long before it had entered into the imagination of any other human being," Nicholas Wood, *A Practical Treatise on Rail-Roads* (Philadelphia, 1832), p. vii. He is credited with making the first high-pressure steam engine used in this country, steam carriages to travel the highways and streets, the mill machinery used by the Ellicott's on the Patapsco, and a steam dredge that was propelled both on land and water

A quarter of a century later Philip Thomas said: [9]

To the citizens of Baltimore belongs the honor of being the first in the Union to organize an association, and obtain a charter, for the construction of a Rail-Road adapted to general travel and transportation. At the time, little was known, either as regarded the construction of railways, or the application of moving power upon them, and we had everything to learn, with but few lights to guide us. It was therefore foreseen at the very commencement of this work, that its progress would be retarded by many difficulties; these have, however, been overcome, and there is no doubt the most sanguine anticipations of its progress will be realized. . . .

It is amazing how quickly these pioneers in the city of Baltimore in the year 1827, reacted to developments then in progress. How many are there today who would, even in the light of modern science and invention, embark on a plan of such magnitude equipped with so little expert knowledge of their task, using for their purposes new and untried methods, experimenting step by step as they progressed toward their distant goal? Find such men and there will be revealed a pioneering spirit fully comparable to that possessed by the 1827 founders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company.[10]

It should not be assumed that a lack of knowledge concerning railroad construction and the operational problems of the pre-construction era of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, denoted also a lack of inventive genius in the field of engineering or its allied sciences. The "mighty power of Steam," the force of compressed air, the resultant action of the lever [11] and the laws gov-

[9] P. E. Thomas to President and Directors of the B. & O., January 4 (?), 1853, in W. P. Smith, *A History and Description of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road* (Baltimore, 1853), pp. 180-181.

[10] There were, of course, many who opposed the railroad for various, and sometimes personal, reasons. Among the more prominent critics was Thomas De Quincy who, in 1849, called the locomotives of the day "tea-kettles," and insisted that the "modern" modes of travel could not compare with the old mail-coach system in "grandeur and power."

On the other hand, Macaulay in speaking of the opposition brought by the capitalists of Manchester, England, against the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, asserted that they owed their fortunes to steam, but could not appreciate the idea of its use in transportation. "There were fools then as there are fools now; fools who laughed at railways as they laughed at canals; fools who evinced their wisdom by doubting what they could not understand."

Today we find, for reasons of efficiency, that the diesel locomotive has almost entirely supplanted the reciprocating steam locomotive. Presumably De Quincy would now argue that again efficiency has replaced romance, but Macaulay would surely call us fools if we agreed. (See Baltimore *Evening Sun* of November 3, 1953, for story about last steam locomotive to leave Camden Station.)

[11] "Give me where to stand, and I'll move the earth"—Archimedes.

erning the forces of gravity were fairly well known and were actually included in a manuscript entitled "A Century of Invention," written by the Marquis of Worcester while he was confined in the Tower of London during the Cromwell regime. An edition of this manuscript was published in 1825 by Parkington who "fully demonstrated not only the practicability of applying the major part of the hundred inventions there described, but the absolute application of many of them, though under other names, to some of the most useful purposes of life." [12]

Among the major inventions of the years 1800-1831 were Volta's Electric Battery; Trevithick's Steam-coach (the first automobile); Trevithick's, Bleckinsop's Hadley's, Stephenson's, Hackworth's, and Ericsson's locomotives; Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, which ran between New York and Albany; Davy's safety lamp; Brunel's patent tunnels, underground and submarine; Faraday's conversion of mechanical energy into electrical energy and Henry's invention of the spool-magnet, and other inventions or discoveries of an allied nature, not forgetting the construction of the Quincy, Mass., Granite Railway in 1826, and the Mauch Chunk, Penn., incline railroad, opened in 1827.

It is quite evident from a review of this array of inventions and discoveries—and there were others—that many of them pertained to the development of the science of engineering and to railroads in particular. The founding fathers of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad undoubtedly had a knowledge of these inventions available to them either through their engineering advisors, or through their own familiarity with the technology of the period. The ready application of these new inventions and discoveries was not immediately possible, due to the lack of a technical skill that comes only with experience and to the absence of tools not yet made with which to produce and apply these inventions in a practical manner.

While it is not necessary to reiterate the history of the city of Baltimore or of the Railroad, we should recall some of the scenes with which the stage was set when the letters under consideration were written. New York had completed its Erie Canal in 1825 from Albany to Buffalo on Lake Erie. Pennsylvania was developing a system of internal improvements (to consist of alternate canals and level railroads with inclined planes used in the moun-

[12] John Timbs, *Inventors and Discoverers* (London, 1840), p. 107.

tains and at the Schuylkill and Susquehanna river terminals) to extend from Philadelphia to the Ohio River at Pittsburgh. Both of these enterprises sought, of course, to develop the trade of the interior, all of the way to the Mississippi Valley, and all that the city of Baltimore could offer in competition was the National Road, a Federally-sponsored project, running from Cumberland to Wheeling—which was reached in 1817. It was a fine highway for those days, reaching Baltimore from its terminus at Cumberland via Hagerstown and Frederick, over the Frederick Pike, now U. S. Route 40. But in competition with the proposed plans and already completed enterprises of the neighboring states, this road would soon become not only of little use but obsolescent as a medium of mass transportation. The vast produce of the mines and farms of the interior then seeking a way to the great seaport of Baltimore and the ever-increasing return trade of manufactured goods to the West, would go elsewhere.[13]

The Potomac River had long been a highway for water transportation, of a sort, and while the products of agriculture furnished much traffic, coal gradually appeared as its market developed and the iron and timber of the Valley contributed their share. Maryland had been aware of the advantages to be gained by various proposed systems of internal improvements, but those connected with the Potomac River were estimated to be of little benefit to its metropolis, favoring rather the newly established city of Washington. Following the insolvency of the Potomac Company, an organization chartered in 1785 by both Maryland and Virginia to improve the navigation of the river, a canal, separate from the river was proposed. This ultimately led to the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Baltimoreans of 1825-1826 pondered the possibilities of this canal and one of Baltimore's chief citizens, Philip E. Thomas, was made the commissioner representing the state in the canal company. But the answer, as Thomas and others so strongly felt and foresaw—was not in a canal, especially one that led to a terminus forty miles away from their city.

Philip Thomas as a matter of fact had little faith in any canal as an aid to the commerce of Baltimore and sought for other solutions to the problem of increasing its dwindling trade. His brother, Evan Thomas, in 1826, had visited the coal mining re-

[13] Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 14.

gions of England and observed the crude attempts there to haul the coal to market. He also rendered a report on a newly built railroad over there, the Stockton and Darlington, opened in 1825. It was a product of the industrial revolution then happening in that island and one of the first enterprises of its kind. No one could be blamed at that early period for an inability to foresee how the railroad would eventually revolutionize industry and commerce.

In 1826, outside of the tram roads at the mines, not a mile of railroad had been constructed in the United States. In 1830, only 23 miles had been completed but by 1840 there were some 2,800 miles completed and in operation, an amazing demonstration, both of physical effort and of increasing confidence in the railroad, in this decade of doubt and uncertainty. The newspapers and periodicals of the time gave little space to the encouragement of such bold venturing.[14]

At the citizens' meeting of February 12, 1827, William Patterson, father of the famous Baltimore belle " Betsy " Patterson, was appointed Chairman and David Winchester, Secretary. Along with Philip Thomas and George Brown, the personal interest of these citizens in the future railroad was due to their great faith in the growth of the city itself. Patterson,[15] of Scotch-Irish parentage, came to Baltimore in 1778, after accumulating a small fortune trading with France and furnishing much-needed military supplies to General Washington's armies. He invested heavily in property in and near the City, and in 1804 Thomas Jefferson said he was probably the richest man in the United States next to Charles Carroll of Carrollton.[16] Patterson firmly believed that Baltimore would eventually become one of the chief cities of the world.

David Winchester (1771-1835), while not so well known as Patterson, nor as wealthy, carried on an extensive insurance business in the City, and also invested heavily in real estate, not only in Baltimore, but also in the present Carroll County near West-

[14] *Niles Register,* a Baltimore publication, apologized as follows in 1830: " It is complained of by persons at a distance that too much room in some of the Baltimore papers is given to accounts of railroad, engines and cars. We have endeavored to avoid an excess in this respect, but new and important interests almost daily present themselves. . . . "

[15] (1752-1835); see *D. A. B.*, XIV, 309-310.

[16] Jefferson to R. R. Livingston, Nov. 4, 1803, in P. L. Ford (ed.), *Works of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1905), X, 49.

minster. The confidence of these men in the City's future greatly inspired those other citizens who had attended this meeting, and they were rightly appointed to head the deliberations and the preparation of the reports and resolutions decided upon at that time.

At this first meeting documents and statements relating to the efficiency of railroads, for conveying quantities of bulky articles at small expense, were examined.[17] It was then resolved to refer these documents to a committee to be composed of Philip E. Thomas, Benjamin C. Howard, George Brown, Talbot Jones, Joseph W. Patterson, Evan Thomas (brother of Philip), and John V. L. McMahon, and to contribute respectively $10.00 to a fund to be placed under the control of this committee for such " purposes as circumstances may render necessary."

At a meeting one week later, February 19, the committee discussed the reports and treatises of the best engineers of that day and also, no doubt, though not so specifically stated, the famous *Documents* written in 1812 by Colonel John Stevens[18] which tended to prove the superiority of " Railway and Steam Carriages " over canals. The *Documents*, however, while advocating a railroad from Albany to the Great Lakes, were written before the good Colonel had ever seen a railroad and very few people in the U. S. had ever heard of one by that name, and certainly, a few years before George Stephenson had built one in England. Stevens' idea came in for ridicule from all sides. Naturally he was very much discouraged, but his faith in the practicability of railroads did not waver in the face of such criticism which was both journalistic and political alike. In order to demonstrate the practicability of a steam-operated railroad (by then George Stephenson had built and operated locomotives in England), he built, in 1825, the first locomotive in the U. S. and operated it around a circular track at Hoboken, N. J. This " Steam-Waggon " proved his point. He has since been called the " Father of Railroads " in the United States.[19]

[17] *Proceedings of Sundry Citizens of Baltimore, Convened for the Purpose of Devising the Most Efficient Means of Improving the Intercourse Between That City and the Western States* (Baltimore, 1827).

[18] *Documents Tending to Prove the Superior Advantages of Rail-ways and Steam-carriages over Canal Navigation.* For information concerning Stevens (1749-1838), see *D. A. B.*, XVII, 614-616.

[19] J. T. Cunningham, *Railroading in New Jersey* (New York, 1941).

However arrived at specifically, it remains a fact that from the deliberations of this committee, there emanated a recommendation that " measures be taken to construct a double railroad between the City of Baltimore and some suitable point on the Ohio River, by the most eligible and direct route, and that a charter to incorporate a Company to execute this work be obtained as early as possible. . . ." Various types of construction and detailed estimates of construction costs were discussed and pondered at length, as were possible revenues and costs of operation. British railroads, then either in operation or projected, or in process of construction, had a decided influence on the committee's decisions and these operations were of such importance that in 1828 the engineers, Knight, Whistler, and O'Neill were sent to Manchester, England, to make a report on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, then being constructed under the supervision of George Stephenson. He was in charge not only of the building of the railway but of the locomotive power as well.

On February 28, 1827, the act which formally sanctioned the incorporation of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road was passed by the Maryland legislature. The company itself was formally incorporated on April 24, 1827, with Philip E. Thomas as President, George Brown as Treasurer, and a distinguished list of Directors.[20] Virginia confirmed the charter on March 8, 1827, and Pennsylvania on February 22, 1828.[21]

One of the first acts of the President and Board of Directors, after the organization of the road was effected, was that of selecting engineers to make the surveys and prepare maps and estimates of cost. From these data a route would then be selected. Also a suitable man had to be selected for the construction of the road along the route. The first Annual Report of the road was signed by President Thomas under the date of October 1,

[20] By 1835, only eight years after the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad charter had been in force, more than 200 other railroad charters had been granted in eleven states, ten of which were on the eastern seaboard. Six of these early charters were in Louisiana, which state was not to be outdone in this race to obtain a new form of transportation, although somewhat far removed from any trade connected with the other states. But all six of these Louisiana roads were built. whereas only a small number of the other 200 were actually constructed and of those that were, not many survived for any length of time. Nevertheless, many of these small roads were the beginnings of some of the great railway systems of today.

[21] *Catalogue of the Centenary of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad* (Baltimore, 1927), p. 11.

1827.[22] This was probably the first Annual Report ever written or published in this country by a railroad company. It dealt with discussions on the location of the road, types of motive power, securing of "reliable" engineers from the U. S. Government which at that time had about the only trained men for this particular service in its engineering corps and who were supplied by the government with great liberality.

Most of the engineers who were selected to make the first surveys for the railroad and who located the original line and planned many of its earliest structures came from this corps. The science of civil engineering then, as now, included a knowledge of mathematics of a very high order which was essential to the theory of railroad location and construction. Hence the necessity of securing only those who were trained in this science. Col. Stephen H. Long[23] (see Letter No. 5), a graduate of Dartmouth in 1809, was secured at once from the Army. Incidentally, he was engaged in the construction of many of the early railroads, was especially successful in the construction of early bridges, and secured a patent on a particular design known as the "Jackson Bridge." In 1829 he published the *Railroad Manual* which greatly simplified calculations made in field surveys.

The first civilian engineer employed by the railroad was Jonathan Knight[24]—who like Philip Thomas and many others among the founders was a Quaker. He was experienced in highway construction, particularly in the construction of the National Road. He brought with him his assistant, another Quaker, Casper Wever (see Letter No. 9), who became the railroad's first Superintendent of Construction.[25] Long and Knight were chosen to make the preliminary surveys. They knew little about what a railroad was, or should be, but, like their employers, they were men of great energy and ability.[26]

Among other engineers who were chosen at that time or who came along shortly after were Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) William G. McNeill[27] and Captain George Washington Whistler,[28] father of the well-known artist.

[22] Baltimore *North American,* Oct. 13, 1827.
[23] (1784-1864); see *D. A. B.*, XI, 380.
[24] (1787-1858); see *D. A. B.*, X, 167.
[25] Olive Dennis, "Mathematics Runs the Railroads," MS, B. & O. Research Library.
[26] Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 32.
[27] (1801-1853); see *D. A. B.*, XII, 152-153.
[28] (1800-1849); see *D. A. B.*, XX, 72-73.

In President Thomas' first annual report of October 1, 1827, it is mentioned that surveys were in progress from Harpers Ferry to the Ohio River, so there must have been quick action on the part of these engineers to have finally located the first division of thirteen miles from Baltimore to Ellicott's Mills in time for a construction start on July 4, 1828, and to have other surveys progressing in the fall and winter of 1827-1828.

The second Annual Report (1827-1828) is partly a pre-construction report.[29] It emanated from the "Engineer's Office" and is signed by Jonathan Knight and Colonel Long "of the Board of Engineers," indicating the early formation of an inter-organization to handle all matters concerning engineering and construction on the new railroad. A map included in the report shows the divisional sections and the general topography of the country along the stretch of the road. The personnel of the "Corps of Surveyors" is also given and the nature of the surveys made by the corps. The map indicates the best route to follow and why it was selected. Branches and sidings are also indicated.

Surveys to and including the proposed inclined planes at "Parr's Spring Ridge" are delineated with bridges shown where needed, also quarries where stone might be obtained. It is interesting to note that "high and expensive viaducts" would be needed "at the crossings over Gwynn's Falls, Davis Run, and at the Patapsco River." Richard Caton was furnishing stone free from his quarry. The writers complain that the workmen are very inexperienced and that there are no treatises or textbooks on the subject of costs where curves are encountered in the road-bed. Costs and estimates of expenditures were being studied for various types of track construction with comparisons of stone or wood track supports.

So we turn now to the consideration of the acquired letters, with a better understanding, perhaps, of their true significance respecting the "railroad" about which so little was known.

Railroads in Massachusetts

Letter, Abbott Lawrence to Orson Kellogg, February 20, 1827 [No. 1].

This letter was written from Boston in reply to one from Kellogg,[30] dated February 14, 1827, just two days after the first

[29] Copy in B. & O. Research Library.

[30] Kellogg is listed in the 1833 city directory as "merchant, dw[elling] Camden st near Sharp."

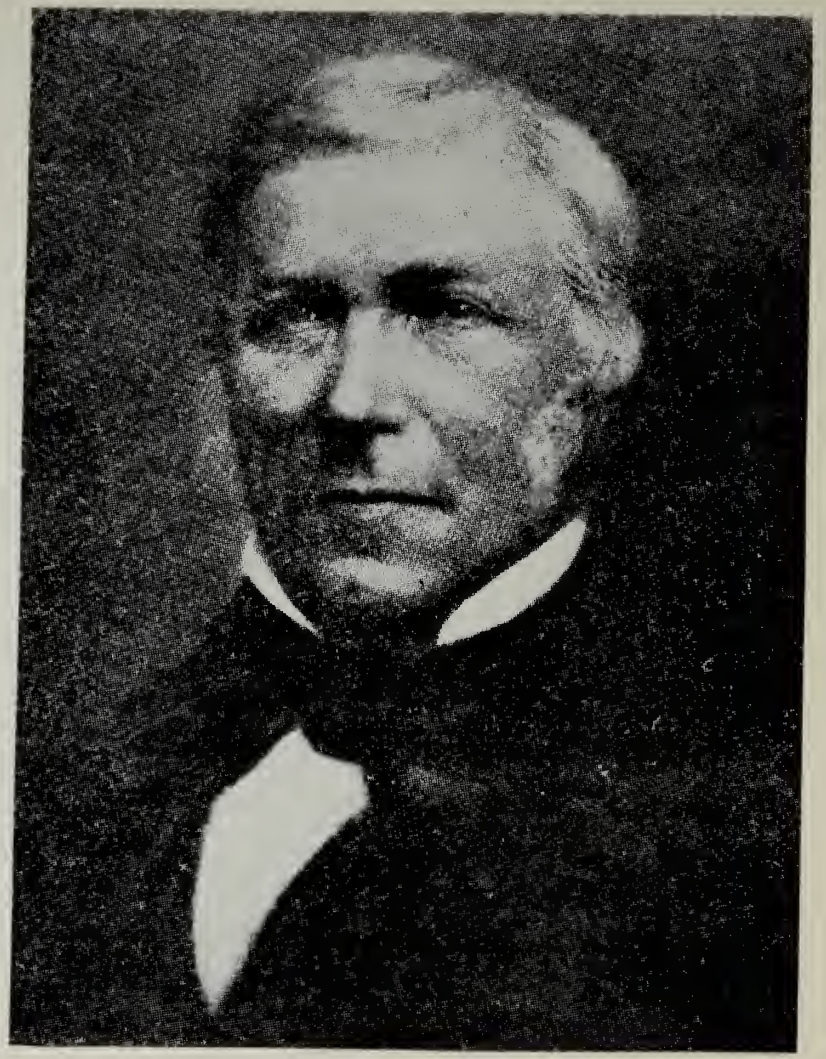
meeting of the citizens of Baltimore City, which, as already noted, occurred on February 12, 1827. It is, therefore, highly probable that this letter is among the earliest extant, relating to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad as a specific, and not a visionary, project.

Kellogg and Lawrence,[31] were both well-known citizens in their respective communities. Kellogg sought an opinion on the construction possibilities of this railroad from one of the very few men known to be in possession of certain data concerning railroads which at that time were either already constructed or were being promoted. Lawrence, one of Boston's leading merchants, was also a promoter of railroads in Massachusetts, which at that time had actually built but one railroad, the Quincy or Granite tram-road, which was constructed for the purpose of hauling blocks of granite for the Bunker Hill Monument from the quarries at Quincy to the Neponset River, a distance of about three miles. This road is more completely described in Letter No. 5 but is mentioned here since Lawrence referred to it in his reply and enclosed drawings of its construction.

He also expressed himself as a firm advocate of the use of railroads instead of canals for the transportation of commodities in that section of the country. This opinion, however, was not based on an operational comparison of these works, since only two canals, then under construction, existed in Massachusetts, and the Quincy was the only railroad in operation in that state. It is more probable that he drew his conclusions from the operations of the Erie Canal, which had been completed just two years previously (1825), and on the construction and operation of an early English railroad—the Stockton and Darlington—then running practically on an experimental basis. It also had been opened in 1825. Horses were used the first few years of its operation for the transportation of passengers. From the beginning crude colliery locomotives were used for hauling freight. It was 1829 before George Stephenson had developed a locomotive—which he named " The Rocket "—that could be relied upon to actually perform its required functions. It was operated on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, which was opened in 1830, became an immediate success, and thereby justified Abbott Lawrence's faith in railroads.[32]

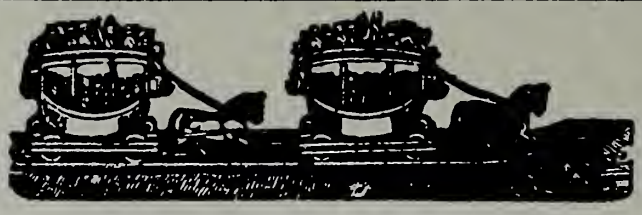
[31] (1792-1855); see *D. A. B.*, XI, 44-46.
[32] Arthur Elton, *British Railways* (1947), p. 17.

PHILIP E. THOMAS
First President of the Baltimore and Ohio



JONATHAN KNIGHT
First Civil Engineer of the Baltimore and Ohio

This picture and cover photograph courtesy B. & O. Railroad



RAIL ROAD NOTICE.

A SUFFICIENT number of CARS being now provided for the accommodation of passengers, notice is hereby given, that the following arrangements for the arrival and departure of carriages have been adopted and will take effect on and after Monday Morning next the 5th inst. viz.

A BRIGADE OF CARS will leave the Depot in Pratt street at 6 and 10 o'clock, A M., and at 3 to 4 o'clock P M. and will leave the Depot at Ellicotts' Mills at 6 and 8½ o'clock, A. M., and at 12½ and 6 o'clock P. M.

Way Passengers will provide themselves with Tickets at the Office of the Company in Baltimore or at the Depots at Pratt street and Ellicotts' Mills, or at the Relay-house near Elkridge Landing.

The evening way car for Ellicott's Mills will continue to leave the depot, Pratt street, at 6 o'clock, P. M. as usual.

N B. Positive orders have been issued to the Drivers to receive no passengers into any of the Cars without Tickets.

P. S. Parties desirous to engage a Car for the day can be accommodated after the 5th July.

ju 2 ?6t

RAIL ROAD EXCURSION

The subscribers having made arrangements with the President and Directors for the disposal of tickets at their office, City Hotel, with a view of affording those citizens and strangers who wish to avail themselves of that pleasant excursion the opportunity of doing so at the least possible expense, have provided a conveyance from the city to the Depot, leaving their office daily at half past 8 o'clock A. M. and half past 2 o'clock P M., and meeting the train of Cars at the Depot on their return.

Parties can be accommodated with the superior Coach Pioneer by application to them at *one dollar* from the city to Ellicott's Mills, and back.—Their stage will leave the City Hotel, calling at Beltzhoover's &c. in Baltimore street. STOCKTON & STOKES,

je 24 GPR eolmo

Early Advertisement of the Railroad Before Steam Power Was Used. Below is Advertisement for Transportation to and from Mount Clare Station.

From Baltimore American, July 10, 1830

At the time his letter was written, Abbott Lawrence was, in all likelihood, also interested in the formation of two railroads then projected in Massachusetts, the Boston and Lowell, incorporated in 1830, and the Boston and Worcester, incorporated in 1831. These two roads were built shortly after their incorporation but subsequent to the Baltimore and Ohio, whose construction influenced greatly that of all railroads built or planned in the early 1830s.

It was little wonder then that Orson Kellogg, perturbed about a project for which he and his fellow-citizens were sponsors, but knew little, and whose scope was greater than any railroad or canal of that day, should seek for something assuring, from one of the few men who had the slightest knowledge of their problems. Further assurance was found in Lawrence's letter to the effect that he expected to receive, in a few days, a report on the practicability of "constructing railways to advantage in this commonwealth [Massachusetts]," then being prepared by a special committee of the state legislature. There is little doubt that a copy of this report, when completed, found its way to the directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company.

A Method or Lifting Railway Cars Over Elevations

Letter, L. Byllesby to "Directors or Manager [of the B. and O.]," April 23, 1827 [No. 2].

The identity of Byllesby who wrote from Athens, Georgia, is not known, but it is evident from the text of his letter that he had given some thought, as an inventor, to the problem of transporting vehicles of various types over the heights that were interposed by nature along the route of a projected railroad, and, as we shall see later, the necessary lifts or locks along the route of a canal.

His scheme, illustrated by a sketch, contemplated the use of a continuous chain running from a structure at the bottom of an incline to a similar structure at the top. The vehicle would be attached to the lower end of the chain and hoisted up the incline by weights or by a counterweighted vehicle attached to the upper or descending end of the chain. A "nicety of balance is acquired by use of horses or an engine," explains Byllesby, along with

a suggestion as to the propriety of taking some small reward for his advice, or for supervising the erection of the system.

Among the design or constructional features of a railroad or a canal which attracted much attention in these early days, inclined planes were most prominent, and the extent to which they should be avoided or adopted was always a problem. Since the primitive locomotives possessed limited power as hill climbers, it seemed at one time to be absolutely necessary that railways intended to traverse mountainous country, over routes which necessitated heavy grades, should be supplemented by inclined planes, on which stationary engines were often designed to furnish the motive power. It was in accordance with this belief that some of the earliest coal railways were supplied with inclined planes.

It should be remembered that each of the successive improvements in locomotives that helped to increase their power to ascend sharp grades also diminished the necessity for inclined planes. Jonathan Knight in 1832 said

> So recently as the beginning of the year 1829, the relative economy of the stationary and locomotive systems, upon level railways, or upon those slightly inclined, was warmly contested in England, and was not put to rest until the recent improvements in the locomotive engine took place.[33]

In the absence of inclined planes, horse power was sometimes used on the heavy grades of early roads, even after locomotives drew trains on the level portions of such lines. By 1836, gradients then using inclined planes were being negotiated by locomotives of greater power, and engineers were becoming aware that more reliance could be made upon the friction between rail and driving wheel to overcome these grades. The inclined plane was originally designed to overcome these heavy gradients because there was no faith at that time in the theory of adhesion of steel to steel at the beginning of railroad history. Belief came only with experimentation.[34]

An inclined plane, as proposed by Byllesby, was the general rule on steep gradients. The "modus operandi" was either a horse, or a chain, cable or rope attached to the vehicle to be elevated and actuated by a stationary engine located at the head of the incline. In general the height to be surmounted required

[33] "Jonathan Knight" data, B. & O. Research Library.

[34] J. L. Ringwalt, *Development of Transportation Systems in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1888), p. 90.

several inclines connected by several hundred feet of level stretches in between the inclined portions of the grade.

While all due credit should be given to Byllesby for his system, it was by no means a novel theory for railway use. Jessop, Wood, and Strickland all described the inclined planes used in England some years previously to 1827. They were also used in the United States in the coal regions of Pennsylvania at Mauch Chunk in 1827, in 1829 at the Carbondale mines, and early in 1830 at Belmont, near Philadelphia, by the predecessor of the present day Pennsylvania Railroad. On the early coal roads gravity and horses or mules were the principal prime movers.

We could assume, however, without too much presumption, that the idea of inclines in hoisting canal boats at locks originated with Byllesby's scheme since he sent a copy of his letter to the " Morris Canal Company " in New Jersey, where a similar scheme, with slight modifications was adopted. Byllesby, like Abbott Lawrence, had little faith in the future of canals but thought that they and also marine railways could use his system to advantage. There were 23 locks on the Morris and Essex Canal all using inclined tracks to raise and lower the boats. This canal was opened in 1831-1832. It was designed by James Renwick, a famous engineer of that day. It seems unlikely that the use of the Byllesby inclined-plane theory could have been just a coincidence on the part of Renwick four years after the receipt of Byllesby's letter, but similar coincidences have happened many times in the history of inventions. As for the operation of marine railways, those of today are little different in design from that suggested by Byllesby.

From studies made by the founders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, four inclined planes were designed for the heights at Parr's Spring Ridge. These were built about 1831, but abandoned in 1838, as obstructions to traffic. As a matter of fact, tests made in 1836 demonstrated the ability of the more powerful locomotives of that period to " stick to the rails " on heavy grades and the inclined planes for main traffic were soon abandoned. It is unlikely that the designers of the planes at Parr's Spring Ridge were influenced by Byllesby's design since they were familiar with those suggested in the treatises of Wood and Strickland, which preceded this letter by several years.

Proposed Route Through Virginia

Letter, Samuel Brown to Philip E. Thomas, May 13, 1827 [No. 3].

This letter was written from Winchester shortly after the organization of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had been effected, early in 1827. It advocated what Brown considered to be the "most profitable" route for the location of the new railroad, viz: from Baltimore to Harpers Ferry, via Point of Rocks, or very close to its present location,

> crossing the Potomac at Harpers Ferry, the only gap in the Blue Ridge that would not have to be materially taken down [excavated], by Charlestown in Virginia, or a little north there of, crossing the South Branch of the Potomac, near Romney, where is the great Beef and Wheat market,—wheat being waggoned in from 80 to 100 miles—near the proposed State Road from Winchester to Clarksburg, and thence to Ohio near the mouth of the Muskingum River [Marietta].

This letter was written in the Quaker style of expression and indicated that Brown had a very intimate knowledge of the country between Winchester and the Ohio River. The fact that he advocated the line to be located near Winchester, and thence to the Ohio River, via Romney, is due undoubtedly, to his desire to have the railroad tap this fine agricultural region on its way to the Western market. As a matter of fact the railroad, after extensive surveys and estimates of cost, did get to Romney by way of a branch line from Green Spring in 1884 and the old turnpike, now known as U. S. Route 50, completed the route to Clarksburg (now W. Va.) and thence to Parkersburg, as suggested by Brown.

The railroad, however, upon crossing the Potomac at Harpers Ferry, continued up the Potomac Valley to Cumberland, which was reached in 1842 and on to Wheeling, via Grafton, reaching Wheeling in December, 1852. The extension from Grafton to Parkersburg was completed in 1857, by the Northwestern Virginia Railroad under a special charter by the state of Virginia.

Help for the Surveyors

Letter, George Baer to Philip E. Thomas, July 14, 1827 [No. 4].

The members of a committee named in the letter were Messrs. Morsel, Henry McElfresh, and Wootton, all of New Market, Worman who "resided on the north of Frederick," G. Duvall and D. Bowlus, residing in the Middletown Valley, Kemp, W. Mantz, and the writer, living in Frederick, nine altogether.[35] Their services were offered and "all information possessed relative to the locality of the country, to the Brigades of Engineers passing in the direction of Frederick." There was no doubt of their anxiety for the railroad to come to Frederick and their cooperative efforts to bring it there, but whatever their methods, they achieved a successful outcome, as did the engineers whom they offered to assist, for the road reached Frederick in December, 1831. Frederick at last had a railroad, and the railroad had a terminal. These engineers had selected a route that is used today as a branch line without deviating at all from its original location.

A Visit to the "Quincy"

Letter, S. H. Long to Philip E. Thomas, October 1, 1827 [No. 5].

Colonel Long visited this project in October, 1827, in order to render a report to Thomas and the Board of Directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, concerning its construction and operation. This letter written in Boston forms that report and gives in detail the manner in which the Quincy or Granite Railroad was built.

The Quincy Railroad had been built to transport granite from the quarries at Quincy, Massachusetts, to a landing on the Neponset River, a distance of about three miles. The granite was used in the construction of the Bunker Hill Monument, across the bay, in Charlestown. The railroad historian H. S. Tanner,[36] tells us the railroad had one branch and included an inclined plane 275 feet in length. From the wharf on the Neponset River the stone

[35] Baer (1763-1834) served as a member of Congress, 1797-1801 and 1815-1817, and as Mayor of Frederick, 1820; see *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, 1950), p. 802.

[36] Tanner, *A Description of the Canals and Rail Roards of the United States* (New York, 1840), pp. 42-43.

was transferred to flat-bottomed boats and towed by steam power to Deven's wharf at Charlestown, where it was again transferred to teams for the final leg of the journey to the monument site on Bunker's Hill. This repeated transfer of the stone damaged it extensively and after a few courses of the monument had been raised by this method the remainder of the stone was teamed directly from the quarry to the building site. The railroad, however, continued in use for the hauling of granite, but its construction had delayed the prosecution of the monument work.

The spring of 1827 saw the monument work fairly under way. Colonel Long's visit in the fall of that year benefited accordingly from this operation and a more accurate knowledge of the costs incurred was obtained from the road's operator, Gridley Bryant. From this letter, Thomas and the directors gained a knowledge of how a railroad could be constructed using stone sills for support of the rails, a method Colonel Long recommended as being " easily wrought." Its adoption along the first stretches of the B. & O. created quite a controversy with the advocates of wood supports for the rails, both methods being tried out until a more standardized type was developed that utilized the wood for crossties, the stone for ballast, and the iron rail laid atop of the crossties, providing eventually the railroad track as we know it today.

More Suggestions

Letter, Gideon Davis to Philip E. Thomas, December 20, 1827 [No. 6].

From the phraseology of this letter, Davis, like Samuel Brown of Frederick (Letter No. 3) was also a Quaker. It is remarkable how many of those connected with the founding of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad were members of the Society of Friends in this country, men possessed of the clear perception and serene confidence of their religion. Gideon Davis, who wrote from George Town, D. C., had given much thought to the details of track construction, as developed by the engineers of the day, from the few examples of railroads then in operation. He recommends in his letter that the wooden rails be of " good heart oak " or yellow pine, laid " edge up," which method incidentally, as almost anyone with a knowledge of lumber would know, produced the longest wear. He further advised that the top of the

rails be rounded and that the wheel tires or rims, be made concave to fit the rounded surface of the rails.

These, and many other constructive items using the materials and tools at hand, were offered by Gideon Davis for the construction of the road. Many of his suggestions followed closely the current practices of that day. Cross sills of wood resting on stone slabs (see Letter No. 5) or piling as supports for the wood rails, was a type of construction in use at the time and adopted by the builders of much later railroads particularly the South Carolina Railroad in 1830-1833, and the New York and Erie (Erie Railroad) in 1835-1840.

Gideon Davis thought he " may be entirely mistaken about the treads of the wheels working on the wooden rails," but he was not convinced that he was wrong—and he further advocated that the broad tread wooden wheels should run on wooden rails and not on iron strips. The use of iron wheels on iron rails was not thought of at the time and steel was far in the future. As for motive power the horse was always the first to be thought of, although the animal should be placed " on the cariage," that is, not on a separate tow path alongside of the car. This piece of equipment should " move in advance for the purpose of towing a . . . train," or the passengers themselves, by a system of ratchets and levers, could humanely help propel the train along the track. This ingenious contrivance, needless to say, was never adopted by the Baltimore and Ohio or any subsequent railroad.

Davis did suggest that planks be laid over the crossties as a sort of towing path for the horse and to save the expense of " filling in " between the ties. Economy seems to have been the theme of Mr. Davis' letter, regardless of the practicability of his schemes. Taken as a whole, however, the letter reflects much originality and resourcefulness and was in step with the practices of that day. To explain his ideas he was willing to furnish drawings or models of the working parts. He also had an idea for a " revolving bridge " capable of containing the " weight and action " of several horses. This may possibly have been a treadmill device, such as was tried by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for a short time in 1829. As a matter of fact, in 1829 and 1830, both the Baltimore and Ohio and the South Carolina railroads tried out just about ever type of motive power, including sail-cars, that the human mind could devise at that time. Gideon

Davis was apparently not alone in his various ideas for "moving the trains."

Westward Expansion

Letter, Littleton W. Tazewell to John Patterson, March 8, 1828 [No. 7].

What reply Patterson [37] made to this inquiry from Senator Tazewell [38] is not known, but it is a matter of record that later on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad exerted every possible effort in Richmond to obtain favorable legislation from the Virginia State Assembly, through the talents of young Thomas Swann,[39] able assistant to President Louis McLane [40] (1838-1846).

According to Tazewell's letter, written from Washington, the Virginia delegation in Congress was deeply concerned with the attitude of the Virginia Assembly towards the "Baltimore Railroad." Having granted the railroad a charter on March 8, 1827—similar in most respects to the one drawn up by John McMahon and passed by the state of Maryland on February 28—permitting the railroad to strike the Ohio River at any point *not lower* than the mouth of the Little Kanawha River (Parkersburg), it proceeded to repudiate this provision in a later act in 1838, requiring the railroad to build into Wheeling. This provision of the amended charter, however, while made ten years later than Tazewell's letter, was the culmination of the many delays thrown at the railroad by the Virginia legislature. It is not unreasonable to assume that the "Baltimore Railroad Bill" referred to by Tazewell in 1828, as "lost in the [state] senate by an equal division of that body" was one of the early efforts of the railroad and its loyal supporters among the Virginia delegation to obtain favorable action from the Virginia legislators enabling the railroad to establish a definite policy in regard to its western expansion to the Ohio River.

In his 26th Annual Report (1851-1852) Thomas Swann, then president of the Baltimore and Ohio, wrote as follows:

> After years of delay, surrounded by embarrassments and staggering under the vastness of the undertaking, with a credit almost exhausted—a few remaining friends, scattered and disheartened . . . and an opposition

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[37] Probably John Patterson (1783-1851), son of William Patterson, a founder of the Railroad.

[38] (1774-1860); see *D. A. B.*, XVIII, 355-357.

[39] (1809-1883); see *D. A. B.*, XVIII, 237-238.

[40] (1786-1857); see *D. A. B.*, XII, 113-115.

rendered formidable by the honesty of convictions, this great work entered upon its extension from Cumberland to the City of Wheeling, a distance of more than 200 miles.

In regard to the attitude of the State of Virginia and very possibly to the particular bill referred to by Tazewell *Niles Register* of December 29, 1827, makes this pertinent observation:

> The very essence of the "Virginia Policy" is squeezed into a petition inserted in the Enquirer (Richmond) of the 20 inst. praying that the legislature of the State may instantly repeal the act of the last session which authorized the survey and making of a railroad through certain parts of Virginia to the Ohio River, etc., . . . the sum and substance of the whole seems to be, that Virginia ought to retain for herself the *Sovereign right* to prevent internal improvements by others, whether she herself will, or will not make them. And it appears as if agreed that it will be better for the State to be deprived of a market for its production, than that Baltimore may become the place of their deposit. . . .

This protective attitude in regard to the question of internal improvements "by others," by not only Virginia, but Pennsylvania as well, undoubtedly delayed the Westward construction of the Baltimore and Ohio for many years.

In *Niles Register*, under date of February 22, 1845, we find the following: "On the 19th inst. the legislation of Virginia finally passed an act, granting the right of way through the State to Wheeling, on the Ohio." The act was regarded as so restrictive in its provisions that the railroad refused to accept it.

As though these political delays were not sufficient to dishearten the early builders of the railroad, there were financial difficulties as well. Before the railroad reached Cumberland in 1842, iron and coal companies in that region had obtained charters to build railways connecting their mining properties with Cumberland for eventual transportation by the railroad, and later by both canal and railroad with the eastern markets. These early mine railways were small tram-roads of the type used in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania and described in Letter No. 12.

In 1853 the tracks of the B. & O. reached Wheeling. The success of the Western extension from Cumberland to the Ohio River avoiding Pennsylvania was due largely to the policy of financing the work from net earnings and to the engineering skill of B. H. Latrobe,[41] chief engineer in those years.

[41] (1806-1878); see *D. A. B.*, XI, 25-26.

The Tariff on Steel for Railroad Construction

Letter, John H. Barney to Philip E. Thomas, April 26, 1828 [No. 8].

I enclose you the Bill reported by General Smith in the Senate and I learn that it did not receive the sanction of a majority of that Committee of Finance of which Genl S. is Chairman, but was merely permitted to be reported to the Senate as a proje[c]t to be more fully investigated.

If it can be satisfactorily ascertained that the Country cannot furnish the iron as fast as it may be required, I anticipate confidently that we shall succeed, and on this mainly depends the result.

To understand the purport of this letter of Congressman John H. Barney [42] of Maryland, written from Washington, to President Thomas of the B. & O., it is perhaps advisable to review a portion of our first Tariff Act of 1789, which, as originally drawn, imposed a stiff duty on iron rails, although there were no rail-rolling mills in this country that required the need of a protective tariff of this nature. Forty years later the importation of railroad iron became an expensive luxury and a matter of prime importance to the rapid progress of the railroad.

On March 22, 1828, *Niles Register* of Baltimore noted the following item:

Senate, March 17, 1828. Mr. Smith of Maryland presented the memorial of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, praying the passage of an act to allow them to import from foreign countries a quantity of iron sufficient to supply the wants of the company: which was, on motion of Mr. Smith, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

On April 2, 1828, *Niles Register* notes that

Mr. Smith, of Maryland, from the Committee on Finance (of which Mr. Smith was chairman) to which was referred the memorial of the railroad company,—reported a bill granting a draw-back on imported iron and machinery, for the use of railroads. . . . Read and passed to a second reading. . . . On motion of Mr. Smith the memorial and accompanying documents were ordered to be printed.

We assume that this was the bill referred to, a copy of which Barney sent to President Thomas on April 26, 1828. The bill did not receive the sanction of the Finance Committee. It was, according to Barney, merely permitted to be reported to the Senate as a

[42] (1785-1857); see *Biographical Directory, op. cit.*, p. 817.

project to be more fully investigated. Mr. Barney pointed out in his letter that if it is found that this country was unable to furnish iron as fast as required, he anticipated " confidently that we shall succeed and on this assumption of contingency depends the results."

The " Mr. Smith " referred to in connection with these debates and other activities of the Tariff Act was, of course, none other than Gen. Samuel Smith (1752-1839), of Revolutionary and War of 1812 fame whose service in Congress spanned the years 1793-1833.

The debates on the question of modifying the duties on iron imported for railroad use started in the Senate on April 23, 1828. The chief opposition came from Senator Marks of Pennsylvania in which state the production of iron was a major industry. Preceding the debates on this provision of the Tariff Act, *Niles Register* of April 12, 1828, notes the introduction of the bill into the Senate and states:

> The following bill is before the Senate; A bill to admit iron and machinery necessary for railroads—duty free. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives . . . that the president and directors of any railroad, incorporated by any state or states, be, and they are, hereby authorized, to import for the use of such railroad, iron and machinery duty free.

Niles Register was opposed to this bill as it contained no reciprocity features but looked for its passage. General Smith read to the Senate letters from Isaac McKim and the Ellicotts corroborating the fact that the iron sought to be taxed could not be obtained in this country. Further amendments to the bill provided for a tax of $30.00 per ton on the iron, to be reimbursed to the importer " when the iron was in place on the railroad." " The iron so designated must be prepared to be laid without further manufacture." Further amendments made at a later date (1830) reduced the ad valorem, and an act of 1832 provided for other gradual tax reductions a boon to the struggling railroads of that era.[43]

[43] *Tariff Acts Passed by the United States* (Washington, 1909), House Document 671, 61st Congress, 2d Session.

A Construction Superintendent Comes to the Railroad

Letter, Caspar W. Wever to Philip E. Thomas, April 17, 1828 [No. 9].

In the formative years of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad the principal personnel needed to shape its course and construct its physical features were engineers and railroad construction men. Where this type of personnel is needed today the specifications are preceded by the qualification "experienced." As so often pointed out in descriptions pertaining to these early pioneers, with the exceptions of those few who worked on the designs or on the construction of the early canals and turnpikes, there were none that could qualify as being "experienced" in the making of a railroad. Perhaps the trained mathematicians supplied by the War Department could be called "experienced" for early engineering work, since many fortifications, light houses, and land surveys fitted them for the analyses and development of reconnaisances necessary to make a start on any technical project.

In respect to the constructional features that followed such reconnaisances, the experiences of the turnpike builders more nearly approached the knowledge required for railroad building than any other work involving the skilled trades. Certainly the ability to handle men and meet emergencies will always prove to be of the greatest importance in "working on the railroad."

Caspar Wever had worked with Jonathan Knight on the National Pike and, like him, was a Quaker. Knight had already been appointed by Philip Thomas as one of the civil engineers of the new railroad along with Col. Stephen H. Long. These two men were chosen to make the preliminary surveys for the road. Of Wever, Hungerford says:

> Wever may have had his disagreeable traits. Eventually Captain McNeill quarreled with him, bitterly, and finaly parted with him, to go with the Susquehanna Railroad. . . . Caspar Weaver came from a region—the pioneer Ohio country—at a time when diplomacy was a virtue often scorned. But that he was a master builder, no one can deny. . . .

Later developments and labor incidents proved that, and also the fact that he could speak his mind on the conduct of the workmen when it came to the too prevalent use of hard liquor by the contractors and the workmen employed by them.[44]

In this letter, written from St. Clairsville, Ohio, Wever stated:

[44] Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 65, 120.

Every effort will be made and all my skill exerted to fulfill the duties of the high and responsible trust committed to my superintendency by this appointment. The fact that my friends Col. Long and Jonathan Knight are to be the active engineers is one of the strongest inducements to enter the service of the Board [of Directors]. With them I hope, nay I believe, that I can proceed in the execution of the duties assigned me with perfect harmony and satisfaction.

I shall quit the service of the Govt. with reluctance and particularly so whilst my operations are under the direction of the present Secretary of War [45] and Chief Engineer [46] from each of whom I have received the most courteous and polite treatment. But with their knowledge and consent the separation will not be so unpleasant.

This cordiality with these officials would indicate his ability to get along with his superiors, in spite of his quarrel with Captain McNeill.

Weverton, Maryland, a junction on the Baltimore and Ohio's Metropolitan Branch, a few miles east of Harpers Ferry, is named in Wever's honor by the railroad. A branch line from Weverton to Hagerstown, built in 1867, is still in use.

Origin of the Tractor

Letter, G. N. Reynolds to President and Directors, June 26, 1828 [No. 10].

As soon as the report of the formation of the new railroad was spread abroad, many suggestions were received by Thomas or the directors, pertaining to " where and how " the road should be constructed. Considering the newness of the railroad and the untried methods of constructing them and the vehicles to be operated thereon, the ingenuity and the inventiveness displayed was remarkable.

While exceedingly ingenious, most of these suggestions lacked the value of even experimental use and the time element in which to show the practicable results that could develop only through a gradual process of evolution from their primitive origins. It was through such evolutionary processes that the roadbed, the track itself and the locomotives and cars that ran upon it, surely and finally reached such stages of practicable operation that they could be called representative prototypes of today's luxurious equipment.

Reynolds, of Charleston, S. C., whose principal occupation was

[45] James Barbour, of Virginia.
[46] Col. Alexander Macomb was Chief Engineer, 1821-1828.

that of building coaches, was probably a very fine craftsman. He offered for consideration a few remarks relative to a " simple and cheap " type of railroad " which can be constructed." Also, a " rotary or endless iron railway carriage," which he " flatters himself will afford all the facilities to the same given power as what is experienced on the more expensive Rail Roads now in use," the adoption of which he believes will save many " 100 thousands of dollars " in the purchase of iron besides time in the " compleation " of the road. It is apparent that, except for fastenings, no " iron " was to be used in the track construction itself. " Should a locomotive engine be used " he had invented a " rotary iron rack for the wheels of the engine to run upon."

An extended perusal of this letter develops the ingenuity of the designer, as he further states that wear on the " bare " wooden rails is reduced by the use of concave treads or tires on the wheel rims of the carriage. (This type of rim was also suggested by Gideon Davis.) The wheel treads and the rails were to be " well greased " to reduce friction, which Reynolds claims would be " very light," since the " iron rail *rolls with the wheel.*" Lateral friction would be the " least possible," and far less than that caused by the ordinary flanged wheel. This lateral friction could be still further reduced by use or " friction rollers," only two of which would touch the sides of the wooden rail at any one time. The chassis or underbed of the carriage is described as being of an underslung type, in order to preserve a low center of gravity, or to " equalize the weight on the wheels when ascending inclined planes " and to act as a ballast to keep the " waggon from upending however great its velocity." Reynolds offers to send a " little model " for inspection and to serve as an explanation of his ideas. There is an indorsement on the letter telling him to send along the model.

The limited technology and small productive facilities of the period, however, could easily have forestalled any attempt at constructing many of the full-sized originals, which if successful, and a suitable roadbed devised, would still have required a duplication of parts not possible at that time. When steel did arrive in the technical field, through the inventive geniuses of Bessemer and Kelly, it was immediately substituted for the unwieldly forgings, and even the wooden parts, composing the mechanism.

To the average layman, Reynold's description of his combina-

tion track and carriage, undoubtedly sounds complicated and impossible of execution. To the more technical-minded reader, the resemblance to a modern caterpillar tractor is at once apparent and confirms the old maxim that there is " nothing new under the sun."

Maryland's Attorney General Declines An Invitation [47]

Letter, Roger B. Taney to Philip E. Thomas, July 3, 1828 [No. 11].

The occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad on July 4, 1828, was truly a great and memorable event, not only for the railroad but for the city of Baltimore as well. The long procession of various and sundry trades—the many distinguished guests, the ceremonies and actual laying of the stone by the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton, then in his 91st year, all of these memorable events have been recorded in detail by our historians.[48]

Of Taney little needs to be said. Born in Calvert County, he married Anna, sister of Francis Scott Key. He served his country as Attorney General, Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief Justice of the United States. He wrote from Annapolis on this occasion:

> I am sorry that I cannot be with you tomorrow. My health has lately sufferred a good deal from professional engagements, and if I were to come to Baltimore I should be unable to join in the ceremonies and festivities of the day.—Allow me however to congratulate you most cordially on the commencement of the great work over which you preside; and which is destined I hope to realize the warmest wishes of its friends.

A Report on the Mauch Chunk Railroad

Letter, Jonathan Knight to Philip E. Thomas, October 31, 1928 [No. 12].

It was very necessary to the founders of the railroad that as much knowledge as possible be obtained of similar existing structures. To this end, the president and directors of the road sent their technical advisors to England (Letters No. 14 and 20), their army engineer, Colonel Long to Quincy, Mass. (Letter No. 5), and their civilian engineer, Jonathan Knight, to Mauch

[47] John Quincy Adams, President of the United States, was unable to be present as he helped lay that very day the " first stone " of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in Georgetown. See Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 39 n.

[48] A full account is in Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-144.

Chunk, Penn.[49] to report on the design and construction and operational features of one of the very few railroads that were then completed or in progress of construction.

During his early engineering days with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad there were no rules governing railroad technology or management. It was not even known how steep a grade nor how sharp a curve could be handled by a locomotive, much less by other suggested types of motive power. For these and other reasons, Knight early advocated the one-company ownership and operation of a railroad by those having possession of this particular type of knowledge, rather than by turnpike or road-builders, who were too prone to consider a railroad in the light of a public highway. He believed in the private control of all operations connected with a railroad's usage, which theory, after all, was also that of its founders; and also of its predecessors at Honesdale, Quincy, and Mauch Chunk.[50]

Responsible for the many inventions and improvements that were quick to follow the first crude experiments in roadbed construction and various types of transportation, were both Jonathan Knight and the inventor, Ross Winans,[51] who are credited with having a large part in the evolution of the B. & O. and in obtaining its sobriquet, "the Rail Road University of the United States."[52]

Consequently, the visit of Jonathan Knight to inspect the Mauch Chunk gravity railroad which ran from the Summit mines to the Lehigh River canal boats, a distance of about nine miles, represented the confidence that Mr. Thomas and the directors had in Knight's abilities to describe, from a "railroad" standpoint the operation and construction of an existing project. It was not a passenger-carrying railroad, but one on which the cars were returned up a steep grade to the top of the mountain by mule-power. The mules had their own cars in which they travelled down the incline to its foot. They might be called America's first railroad passengers, unless one is a stickler for lexicology.

[49] "Jonathan Knight Story," MS, B. & O. Research Library; Stewart H. Holbrook, *Story of American Railroads* (New York, 1947), p. 7; Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 76.

[50] Mauch Chunk is the county seat of Carbon County. It is about 90 miles northwest of Philadelphia on the Lehigh River.

[51] (1796-1877); see *D. A. B.*, XX, 371-372.

[52] Editorial in *American Railroad Journal* (1835), quoted in Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 112.

I had a pleasant time of it [Knight wrote] at M. Chunk was well used by Josiah White in all respects. He went with me up to the mines, and accompanied me down in the pleasure carriages, we descended in about half an hour pleasantly & safely, though few words were spoken by the company of 16 persons, except in the conversation between J. White & myself which was pretty continuous and in relation to the Rail road. The M. Chunk rail rd is rough and has several obvious defects, in the graduation, in the curvatures, & in the inequality of the iron rails as to width, and perhaps in some other respects, but, as a whole, and considering the time in which it was done and the haste in the execution, and also taking into view that it is only to accommodate the transit of heavy burthens but in one direction and that by *gravity*, I pronounce the work an extraordinary one.

Jonathan Knight's report, written in New York, then describes in detail the manner in which the Mauch Chunk road was constructed, a type of railroad which differed very little from other mining or tram roads. It succeeded an earlier or graded road from the Summit Mines to the Lehigh Canal, nearly a thousand feet below which was built by Josiah White, who laid out this road in 1818. Anthracite coal was discovered at Summit Hill in 1791, by Philip Ginter, a German hunter. When Josiah White laid out the original road he intended that it should be a railroad when business warranted the laying of rails on this graded surface. This was done in 1827, one year before Knight's visit. The grading was done with an engineer's level, the first time this instrument was ever used for the grading of a road. In 1844 a back-track was laid over Mount Pisgah and Mount Jefferson to the mines where it joined the old mule track. It was then called the "switchback" and was used for coal transportation until 1870 when it was abandoned for this purpose and enterprising citizens of the region hit upon the very happy idea of utilizing it for a "scenic railroad" until 1933. In 1937 the rails were scrapped and unfortunately used later by Japan in World War II.[53]

A Siding for the Mills

Letter, N. H. Ellicott to Philip E. Thomas, November 3, 1828 [No. 13].

The engineers for the railroad had surveyed alternate routes from the Pratt Street terminal in Baltimore to reach the Patapsco River Valley which they then planned to follow westward. The

[53] "Switch-back" data supplied by Mr. Charles D. Neast, of Mauch Chunk.

second annual report for the year 1827-1828 indicated that other surveys had shown the practicability of the selected route which while not as short as the route via Elysville for instance, had less heavy grades, and in the opinion of the engineers was the best route surveyed for the use of the proposed horse-power. Little was known about the climbing power of a locomotive—only its running powers on a level track. The route finally selected was that of today's line via Relay and Ellicott City, then known as Ellicott's Mills.

As the rail Road opposite to our mill [Ellicott wrote] is in a state of considerable forwardness, and as I am aware that it will be necessary to make some provision as to a suitable turn out place for the accommodation of our Mill, and as thou has already informed that you intended to do it, I thought it right merely to remind you of the necessity in order to provide for it, as it will be attended with much less difficulty now than when the road is completed.

The proper place for the turn out I suppose Weaver can fix on and if he will call on us we will give him all the assistance in the case we can.

The mills were started in 1772 by the three sons of Andrew Ellicott who emigrated to Bucks County, Penn., in 1730. The three sons, Joseph, Andrew, and John had purchased land and mill-sites on the Patapsco River, about 10 miles west of Baltimore and built mills for the grinding of grain, most of which, at first, was grown on their own property. They built roads for their wagons to Baltimore and to Fredericktown at their own expense. All of the family were members of the Society of Friends. They were exceedingly public-spirited and intensely interested in all matters pertaining to the improvement and welfare of the state and its citizens. Their emigration to Maryland and to their lands on the Patapsco was made via sailing vessels from Philadelphia to New Castle (now in Delaware) where they landed and loaded their paraphernalia on wagons and carts which were driven to the head of the Elk River, reloaded on vessels which took them to Elkridge Landing, where they again loaded their wagons and carts for the trip to the site they had previously purchased for their operations.

The three brothers transacted their business under the firm name of Ellicott & Co. By 1774 buildings and houses for the workers had been erected. A fire which occurred in 1804 destroyed the flour "manufacturing" and all had to be rebuilt by these deter-

mined families, whose predecessors were known as the "Fathers of American Milling." Since the B. & O. opened to Ellicott's Mills on May 24, 1830, construction was approaching the mills when this letter was written.[54]

Inspection of an English Railway

Letter, Knight, McNeill, and Whistler to Philip E. Thomas, December 9, 1828 [No. 14].

In December, 1828, the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was in the course of construction. In 1826 George Stephenson (1781-1848), the famous English engineer often called the "Father of Railways" had been appointed its engineer, not only of construction but of locomotive power as well.[55] After experience with colliery locomotives and as engineer on the Stockton and Darlington Railway, which had been opened in 1825 as a horse-drawn road for the passenger trade and locomotive operated for the "goods" or freight traffic, George Stephenson was selected to build the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, which Christian Barnham calls the "father and mother of all railways," due possibly to the fact that it was the "first public railway in the modern sense of the term."[56]

The Liverpool and Manchester was formally opened with great fanfare, on September 15, 1830, attended by such dignitaries as the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, and the famous actress, Fanny Kemble, who described vividly this momentous occasion and the tragic accident to one of the participants during the ceremonies.

On October 6, 1829, occurred the historic "Rainhill Competition" of five very different types of locomotives (one was horse-operated) to ascertain whether "locomotive engines" or "stationary engines" were to be used to pull the trains over the thirty-two mile stretch of road. The locomotive "Rocket," with only two driving wheels and having its two cylinders and pistons at the rear end of the horizontal boiler, won the contest. The "Rocket" was the product of the inventive geniuses of George

[54] Martha E. Tyson, *A Brief Account of the Settlement of Ellicott's Mills* (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1865), Fund Publication No. 4.
[55] Elton, *loc. cit.*
[56] Bulletin No. 71 (1947), Railways and Locomotive Historical Society, Boston.

Stephenson and his son Robert and helped greatly to do away with the prejudices that existed at that time against locomotives, which were described by a Parliamentary committee as "Monsters . . . navigated by a tail of smoke and sulphur. . . ." [57] These were the controversial points of railroading that intrigued the visiting engineers, and they had the Stephensons personally to guide them in this portion of their report. As usual, stationary engines were planned for the two inclined planes on this road, although this point was not definitely settled then.

However, this historic competition occurred *after* the visit of the engineers sent by Mr. Thomas in 1828, to report on the progress of the railway and on its equipment. It is mentioned here since it represents the achievement of a certain goal that was then in the making.

As a contrast to American customs, the elaborate ceremonies that attended the opening of an English railway were commented upon by Charles Frances Adams, Jr., who said in 1878 [58]

> Naturally, the beginning of the railroad system in America was neither so interesting nor so picturesque as it had been in . . . Great Britain. . . . At most it was but an imitation; and that too, on a small scale. There the thing for a beginning, was on a large scale. The cost of the structure, the number of the locomotives, the fame of the guests, the mass and excitement of the spectators were all equal to the occasion. This was not so in America. Everything was diminutive and poor in 1831. The provincialism of the time and place is almost oppressive.

This was severe criticism, but our grandiose openings came later on when the menus were mouth-watering and the guests were our most distinguished personages. But the very early railroad openings in America were strictly utilitarian in purpose and strictly in keeping with the simplicity and economy of the pioneers who conducted them.

The Liverpool and Manchester Railway was a fine school for the budding railroad engineer of the period. It offered many points of instruction and interest to these engineers from the Baltimore and Ohio, whose potential capabilities were certainly as great as those possessed by the English engineers. There were deep "cuttings" and constantly settling embankments built across

[57] Elton, *loc. cit.*
[58] *Railroads, Their Origins and Problems* (New York, 1878), pp. 36-37.

the marshes; a mile long tunnel and sixty-three bridges over or under the line, and a nine-arch viaduct over the Sankey Valley.[59]

The influence of this early English railway on the visiting engineers engaged to construct America's first public-carrier railroad, was very great, and their report to President Thomas indicated this influence. The results of their inspection were observed in their various efforts to adopt many of the characteristics of the English railways. Such adoption was not always successful due to the differences that existed in topography and to the alignment of our tracks to meet the economies found necessary to build at all through virgin forests and to unite the terminals which were so many miles apart.

As a result of this mission to England, Letter No. 14 (written from Manchester, Eng.) expresses, in conclusion, a complete confidence in the methods " progress on our own Rail Way " but that " temporary railways are used more in England for the removal of soil and the placing of embankments." These methods were, however, employed in Western Virginia at a later date with amazing success.

A Doctor-Director

Letter, Patrick Macaulay to Philip E. Thomas, March 11, 1829 [No. 15], and Fragments, Macaulay's " Mission[s] to Washington," April 21, May 24, 1830 [No. 21].

These items are discussed here as both manuscripts refer to the same person, Dr. Patrick Macaulay, an early resident of Baltimore City and have to do with his connection as a director of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. No. 21 consists of two fragments of memoranda made by Dr. Macaulay in 1830 and relates to certain " missions " to Washington which he undertook for the railroad while a director.

Your note of the 9th. instant informing me of my election as one of the Directors of the Baltimore & Ohio Rail Road on the part of the Stockholders has been received.

For this mark of confidence and respect on the part of my former associates I offer to them my grateful acknowledgments. Whatever aid it may be in my power to afford will most freely be given toward the great and useful enterprize in which you are engaged.

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[59] Elton, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Since the City of Baltimore had subscribed heavily, it was represented on the Board of Directors. Macaulay was the City representative from April 2, 1827, to January 26, 1829. He was a stockholders' director from March 9, 1829, to May 25, 1833.

Patrick Macaulay was born in Yorktown, Va., in 1792. He died in Baltimore in 1849 in the prime of his usefulness to the city and while one of its leading physicians. He was a pupil of the famous Dr. Benjamin Rush and was also a founder of the Maryland Academy of Sciences. He was a member of the City Council from 1827 to 1830.[60]

A Letter from a Governor

Letter, Levi Lincoln to Philip E. Thomas, December 14, 1829 [No. 16].

This is a letter of appreciation from Governor Lincoln of Massachusetts, written from Worcester, acknowledging receipt of Thomas' "letter and packet containing numerous valuable pamphlets and papers relating to railroads." Governor Lincoln[61] appreciated the promptness accorded his request for this material and was particularly interested in the "manuscript letter" written by Colonel Long of the engineering staff of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Lincoln's interest was aroused by the "precise information" contained in Long's letter, relative to the construction of the railroad, which at that time was building towards Ellicott's Mills, which point was reached in May, 1830, using horse-power, which did not pay. Steampower, exemplified by Peter Cooper's little engine, the "Tom Thumb," was tried out in August, 1830, and by the "York" in 1831.[62] Long's letter, however, told of the railroad's construction and operation two year's ahead of any scheduled transportation on the road. Lincoln was also "especially interested" in the estimates of cost prepared by Long and in the analyses he had made of "double and single track" advantages and "expects this information to be very valuable to the Government of this Commonwealth [Massachusetts]."

[60] E. F. Cordell, *Medical Annals of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1903), p. 481, and memoranda on file in B. & O. Research Library.

[61] (1782-1868); see *D. A. B.*, XI, 264-265.

[62] For details and illustrations, see L. W. Sagle, *A Picture History of B. & O. Motive Power* (New York, 1952), pp. 1-4.

This letter evidenced a great interest in railroad matters, particularly those pertaining to his native state. While governor, he approved the charters of the Boston and Lowell Railroad in 1830, and the Boston and Providence and the Boston and Worcester, both in 1831. These railroads today are, respectively, parts of the great New England systems of the Boston and Maine and the New Haven railroads, and of the New York Central Lines.

A "Rotary" Steam Engine

Letter, Wm. Willis to President and Directors, January 1, 1830 [No. 17]

William Willis of Washington, D. C., offered this engine as a present to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, "for its use with all the various modes and forms which are embraced by the principles, by which the rotary motion of the said engine are produced." The railroad "and its successors" are authorized "to erect whenever, or at whatever time, you, or they may think proper, as many of these engines as may be wanted from time to time, for the use of said Railroad, and you may consider this as a donation, free from any condition on your part. . . ." He promises to deliver, or send, in a short time, the specifications and drawings of the machinery.

Since this letter does not describe the use or uses to which the engine could be put, it must be assumed from his phrasing that the inventor offered it for whatever purposes the railroad might find it serviceable.

"Since the Company had committed itself to a program of extensive experimentation, it wished to encourage the inventive spirit of the national mechanicians." [63] This policy, a very costly one to a pioneer enterprise, was undoubtedly the reason for the many inventions and their suggestive uses being made the subject of these letters.

Rotary engines of various types and for various uses had been made since Branca invented the steam turbine in 1629. "Rotative" engines, as made by James Watt in 1782, made steam pressure available for turning machinery in mills, an accomplishment hardly inferior in importance to the invention of the steam-engine itself. The list of inventors utilizing steam as a moving power

[63] M. Chevalier. "History and Description of the Channels of Communication of the U. S." (mimeographed).

for either a rotary or reciprocating motion in an engine, ranges through the years from Hero 130 B. C. to Stephenson, and includes the famous names of Newcomen, Watts, Trevithick, and the Marquis of Worcester. "Rotary engines" were seemingly the early predecessors of the steam turbines in use today.

In *Niles Register*, December 25, 1830, we note the following account of a "Rotary Engine":

> Mr. Childs, of this city [Baltimore], has recently procured a patent for a steam engine which promises to be of great use, especially in propelling carriages on rail roads, upon which it may be made to ascend at any desired angle. . . . It will draw a carriage at an unusual velocity: it may be made at one-quarter the expense of Mr. Stephenson's, near Liverpool. Among the peculiarities of its structure, is a circular piston. . . . Dr. Jones, editor of the Journal of the Franklin Institute [Philadelphia], is said to have full confidence in the invention of Mr. Childs.

Willis' letter was written nearly a year before the above notice was published in *Niles Register*. The subject of "Rotary Engines" as a means of locomotion and as a substitution for the Stephenson, or reciprocal-motion type, seemed to be quite on the minds of the inventors of that period. However, the "straight" piston appears to have prevailed over the "rotary type," offered by its proponents, in the locomotive development of that era.

A Weighing Engine

Letter, William and James Brown & Co. to Philip E. Thomas, January 5, 1830 [No. 18].

From certain descriptions of purchases made at that time by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in England it is believed that William and James Brown & Co. of Liverpool were shipping agents for the railroad in that country. The manufacturer of the "Engine" was a Mr. Hutchinson, according to the letter, and the price of the machine was £200. There is no further description given except in relation to the "model" which was sent with the machine and described as necessary to its "proper erection, an indispensable accompaniment" to the machine, according to the manufacturer.

Since further description of the shipment is lacking and there was no other enclosure, we can assume its nature by a method of reasoning or deduction. It is noted from copies of estimates

made by the company and from data obtained by those who were sent to gather information from the few other railroads then existing or projected, both in this country and abroad, that the revenues derived or to be derived from the haulage of freight were figured on a tonnage basis. Therefore some device was necessary by which the cars and their loads could be weighed. In general, bulk weighing, at that period, was done as it is today, by a type of platform scale. The word "engine" used in the description of the machine, was applied to many mechanical contrivances.

The term "weighing engine" was frequently applied in the 18th and 19th centuries to a compound-lever type such as that invented and made by John Wyatt of Birmingham, England, in 1744.[64] Until the middle of the 18th century carts and heavy loads were weighed on large steelyards installed at roadside hostelries. Weighing was a laborious operation requiring the attachment of chains and the raising of the vehicle clear of the ground by a winch.

Thaddeus Fairbanks,[65] about 1830, the year that this letter was written, developed an idea that he had, whereby the vehicle could be drawn or rolled upon the platform and weighed with its contents. He patented this idea in 1831.

George A. Owens in his treatise on weighing machines is "constrained to deplore the inadequacy of the vocabulary of technical terms in use in the weighing industry."[66] He implies that a "Weighing Engine" could be either the Roman steelyard or the Wyatt weighing platform, but the term could hardly be applied to later road and railroad scales as developed and patented by Fairbanks.

In a letter cited in Note 64, Mr. F. G. Skinner wrote to the author:

> Unfortunately Wyatt never patented his great invention and plenty of imitators arose before and after his death in 1766, though we have no record here of a Mr. Hutchinson as making these machines in 1830. It was quite usual in that period to make models of heavy weighing machines some of which were later exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851.

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[64] Letter from F. G. Skinner, Deputy Keeper, Science Museum, London, to author, Sep. 24, 1953.

[65] (1796-1886); see *D. A. B.*, VI, 264-265.

[66] *A Treatise on Weighing Machines* (1922)

The " weighing engine " mentioned in your letter as being shipped from England on 5th January 1830 for use on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad would certainly have been a Wyatt type compound-lever machine because other continental types of platform weighers of that period (such as the Quintenz or Beranger types) would have been quite unsuitable for railway work.

The main portion of Wyatt's design . . . is still essentially the basic design of railroad platform and waggon weighing machines.

Considering the weight of the evidence given above, one would seem justified in assuming that Hutchinson's " Weighing Engine " was a Wyatt platform scale.

Schemes for Climbing the Mountains

Letter, Zebulon Parker to Caspar Wever, September 18, 1830 [No. 19]. (Referred by Wever to President Thomas.)

Of the many designs and inventions submitted to the pioneer builders in the early days of railroading, none seemed to intrigue the minds of the public more than a means whereby the cars might be pulled, pushed, or otherwise navigated up an inclined plane to a summit or elevation lying athwart the proposed line of the road. The descent was generally a simple matter of gravity and control.

The earliest types of locomotives were far too feeble in power and too light in weight to ascend much of a gradient—and little was known about the tractive force of the more powerful and heavier types that shortly succeeded the " Rockets " and " Tom Thumb's " of the experimental era. Later, by either a bold attempt with steam-power or by some chance happening, the fallacies of previous reasoning were discovered.

Mostly, however, the grades or inclines were negotiated by horse or mule power as at Parr's Spring Ridge and Mauch Chunk, or by stationary engines and ropes or cables as on the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad (now the Pennsylvania Railroad) at Belmont near Philadelphia and at Columbia, Penn., on the Susquehanna River, or on the Allegheny Portage Railroad over the mountain at Blair's Gap, Penn., in the early 1830s. Another invention, which came later, employed engines having cog-wheels which readily climbed the steepest inclines, as at Mt. Washington in the White Mountains. Track construction on these early inclined

planes was of the crudest sort, the wood rails being laid on stone blocks, many of which may still be seen in their original positions.

Zebulon Parker writing from Dresden, Ohio, offered a system for elevating trains weighing as much as 100 tons, to a height of 100 feet, by the use of water-power, and unfortunately subject during the winter to the same climatic effects that destroyed the year-around usage of canals, the freezing of the water. Probably for this reason and that of the costly and impracticable nature of its operation and installation, Mr. Wever rejected the invention as not being "practically useful."[67] Wever was ever one to speak his mind.

In *Niles Register* of March 7, 1829, there is given an interesting description of still another invention made by an Elkton inventor, "to supersede the use of stationary engines, for the purpose of ascending inclined planes." This invention employed the use of a self-propelling "steam-carriage," which attached itself to a long chain fastened to a ring-bolt, or other stationary object, at the summit of the hill. The operation of the entire contraption, as described, is similar to that of a gymnast chinning a horizontal bar. But the advantages over the stationary engine were many and, in reality, to be treated with respectful consideration by the reader. *Niles* noted it as follows: "The project submitted is entirely new . . . and exceedingly simple."

Needless to say, inclined planes were abolished as soon as a track having a low gradient could be built around the elevations or the elevations could be tunnelled or excavated through. These alternatives occurred when the revenues of the road made it possible to build the more costly routes, but eventually the new routes would pay for themselves many times over by a saving in time and in the handling of an increased amount of traffic.

Another Letter about English Railways

Letter, Evan Thomas to Philip E. Thomas, April 15, 1830 [No. 20].

Although Philip Thomas and the directors of the railroad had sent their engineers to visit and report on the early English railways, in December, 1828, many new developments and improvements had transpired in England requiring immediate investiga-

[67] Endorsement on back of Parker's letter.

tion in order for the B. & O. to profit by them. To make these investigations and reports, Philip Thomas had sent his brother Evan to England. He arrived at Liverpool on April 14, 1830, "After a boisterous passage of nearly 29 days." He could not, of course, give in this letter much of an account of the railroads "in this country."

Evan Thomas states in this letter that "he has observed in a Liverpool newspaper that the Stephenson engine ["The Rocket"] carried 35 to 40 tons at 15 to 16 miles per hour." This did not seem to settle the question, then of public interest, as to whether the Rocket was a better engine than Ericsson's "Novelty," although it was the settled opinion in America that the Rainhill Competition in October, 1829, had proven the "Rocket" to be the best of the five engines competing. Our English friends, however, were still arguing the point over six months after the competition. Evan Thomas states that he would endeavor to ascertain why a Mr. James Cropper—evidently a local authority and a director of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway—favored the "Novelty." We surmise that Cropper's preference was due to a lack of technical knowledge.

The Liverpool and Manchester Railway had been constructed to compete with a previously built canal between these two cities. It was a success from the start, and Evan Thomas states that large dividends were expected by the management of the road. It seems that several vessels had sailed in the early spring of that year (1830) without some of their cargo "owing to the freezing of the canals," again justifying the opinion of the railway's advocates, and no doubt confounding its opponents. He finds "this opinion meets general concurrence." As stated previously (Letter No. 19), this "freezing of canals" caused their gradual abandonment in favor of the "year-around" railroad in those latitudes affected by freezing weather.

Evan Thomas states that he learns from a mutual friend "Mr. Brown," possibly George Brown, who was then in England, that "Ross Winans has sailed for the United States." It is significant that Winans, who had also been sent to England by the Baltimore and Ohio to study the "English System" was returning to this country in order to have a better chance "of bringing into operation some improvements in the application of power in overcoming resistance where there are ascents, etc." Ross Winans was a

great inventor of railroad equipment. Even today, the basic principles of car-wheel and car-body construction are those of Winans and his friend Jonathan Knight. Winans spent a year in making observations of "great value to the company." In Baltimore he established with his sons, the largest machine shop in the United States. This was in that era of domestic locomotive design and construction that succeeded the importation of English locomotives which were neither practicable, nor adaptable, to our curves and steep grades, but which did establish the standard gauge of 4′ 8½″ in general use in the United States today.

Evans Thomas closes with an urgent appeal to his brother to empower "your agents here" [68] to "order immediately an engine, as it will be doubtless hard to get one after the question [as to type] is settled." The highly technical subject of wheel design is then discussed in detail, and this very important letter closes with the admonition to "get more iron for rail."

"Mission[s] to Washington"

Fragments, Patrick Macaulay "Mission[s] to Washington," April 21, May 24, 1830 [No. 21]. (See comment with No. 15.)

Civil War Operations

Telegram, Edwin M. Stanton to John W. Garrett, May 5, 1864 [No. 22].

During the Civil War the Baltimore and Ohio became the most important factor, next to the army itself in the protection of Washington and the great commercial and manufacturing cities of the loyal states of the North. To protect this vital artery of traffic, or to disrupt its constant flow of men, munitions, and necessary equipment, the opposing forces were ever alert to seize whatever opportunities offered themselves for appropriate action. The chief obstacle in the way of complete domination of the railroad by the Confederate forces operating in the upper Virginia (and West Virginia) region, was the loyalty of those who were in control of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Gen. U. S. Grant's plan of attack on Richmond in the Spring of 1864 included the drawing of Lee's forces eastward from the south banks of the Rapidan, toward Fredericksburg. The battle

[68] W. & J. Brown Co., Liverpool. See Letter No. 18 and *Niles Register*, XXXVII, 273.

of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House followed in May, 1864. It was very necessary to keep the lines open and provide for the necessary transportation of supplies and troops to the front, especially from the great sources of food and men in the Middle West.

Grant called on the War Department for Ohio troops to protect these lines. Secretary of War Stanton [69] sent the following telegram to Garrett:

Ohio troops are ordered to the line of your Rail road and Governor Brough has been requested to send them immediately.

John Brough [70] was, in every sense of the word, a "War governor." Although politically a Democrat, he advocated a united effort against "Southern Rebels." He was laborious, patriotic, and far-seeing in his methods. A former railroad president (the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, 1853) he had experience in the operational and transportation problem that could arise at any time in railroad conduct. The career of John W. Garrett,[71] war-time president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, is so well known to Marylanders, that his biography here would indeed be repetitious. In the annals of the Civil War history of the railroad, he will be chiefly remembered for his preservation of the road to the cause of the Union, and his loyalty to that end.

A Battle at the Monocacy

Letter, Samuel B. Lawrence to John W. Garrett, July 7, 1864 [No. 23].

General "Lew" Wallace [72] is probably better known to the present generation as the author of *Ben Hur* than as a Major General in the Union Army, but at the beginning of the Civil War he was already Adjutant General of Indiana and was soon made a brigadier of volunteers. He commanded a division at Fort Donelson, receiving a Major General's commission for gallantry. In 1863 he prevented the capture of Cincinnati by General Kirby Smith.

He took command of the 8th Army Corps and in July, 1864, met the Confederate forces under General Jubal Early, who were

[69] (1814-1869); see *D. A. B.*, XVIII, 517-521.
[70] (1811-1865); see *D. A. B.*, III, 94-95.
[71] (1820-1884); see *D. A. B.*, VII, 163-164.
[72] Lewis Wallace (1827-1905); see *D. A. B.*, XIX, 375-376.

marching on Washington. He was defeated by them at the Monocacy River, a few miles east of Frederick on July 9. It was a case of being completely outflanked by the forces under Early and being pushed back to Washington. For this action, General H. W. Halleck replaced Wallace with General E. O. C. Ord, but to his credit General Grant promptly reinstated Wallace.[73]

Some authorities state that Wallace succeeded in his object at the Monocacy, which was to give Grant time to reinforce Washington from City Point. Others, with equal vigor, claim Early had succeeded in that he had drawn reinforcements towards Washington, scared the town pink, destroyed many railroad and highway bridges and abstracted a levy of $220,000 in cash from the cities of Frederick and Hagerstown and Lee was satisfied with the results. However, the *Richmond Enquirer* of July 28, 1864, considered the expedition a complete failure.[74]

General Wallace's " despatch," quoted in the letter from Lawrence to Garrett, reads:

> A battle now taking place at Frederick with fair chance to whip the enemy. I shall hold this bridge. Hurry up the veterans just arrived with all despatch, let them all come at once if possible. Inform Mr. Garrett of my purpose as to the bridge.

[73] Though not of consequence in this article, it is of interest to note that General Edward Otho Cresap Ord (1818-1883) was born in Cumberland. His early years were spent in Washington, D. C.

[74] D. S. Freeman, *R. E. Lee, A Biography* (New York, 1935), III, 459-461, and *Lee's Lieutenants* (New York, 1944), III, 568.

PATRICK CREAGH OF ANNAPOLIS

By Joy Gary

THIS is the story of Patrick Creagh and, through him, a story of the City of Annapolis in the relatively unexplored years from 1718 to 1761. This period precedes the enormously prosperous times immediately before the Revolution, but it was both a prelude to the later prosperity and, in itself, a formative era of activity. More active than most during these years was Patrick Creagh. The versatility of his interests is apparent in the records where he is variously described as painter, merchant, shipbuilder, farmer, mariner, contractor for the maintenance of His Majesty's forces, and, ultimately, gentleman. Creagh runs the gamut of skills that make a man important to his community and to his times. He seems, however, never to have held public office, and to have acquired debts as readily as he amassed assets. These two factors are, perhaps, responsible for his comparative anonymity in the years intervening since his death.

While his many activities will be touched on in this narrative, with the idea of characterizing a period as well as a man, the focal point will be his participation in the erection of public and private buildings in Annapolis, especially those still standing, still admired, but hitherto inconclusively assigned. Of these the largest, and most disastrous, was " Bladen's Folly," now McDowell Hall on the St. John's College campus, on which Creagh worked from the time of his January 28, 1742, agreement [1] with the then Governor, His Excellency Thomas Bladen, until the Lower House unanimously voted to disallow funds on June 4, 1747,[2] and work necessarily stopped.

The Old Treasury, oldest public building in Maryland and one of the oldest in the nation, was built by Patrick Creagh in 1735-

[1] Anne Arundel County Deeds, R. B. No. 3, f. 742, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Unless otherwise specified all further references are from Anne Arundel County and in the Hall of Records.

[2] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, 462, 524.

1737 for the use of the newly (1733) created Commissioners for Emitting Bills of Credit, and known then as the Loan Office. Authority for this statement appears in the Proceedings of the Acts of Assembly [3] in which it is directed that Patrick Creagh be paid £587.9..5 for building this office and other necessary charges, including £30 for bricks. The correctness of this information has also been substantiated by Admiral Hill [4] and by Dr. Morris L. Radoff in his *Buildings of the State of Maryland at Annapolis.* The Old Treasury has recently been restored by the State and a new plaque has replaced a former one giving an earlier date. The sturdy simplicity of its architecture and the previous anonymity of its builder must have contributed to the widely, but erroneously, held belief that it was of even earlier construction.

Patrick Creagh almost certainly built his own house, now 160 Prince George Street, known locally as " Aunt Lucy's Bake Shop." He bought this lot, No. 95 on the plat of the City of Annapolis as it appears in Stoddert's 1718 survey, and also lots 98 and 99, from the heirs of Amos Garrett for the then going price for lots alone of £190 current money of Maryland in 1730, the deed being recorded in 1735.[5] The time lag was probably because the sellers were several and in faraway London. On June 5, 1747, the day after the final collapse of the " Bladen's Folly " project and possibly as a direct result of it, Creagh made his will [6] in which he leaves to his wife, Frances, " the lot and Dwelling House whereon I now live, with appurtenances thereon known by the Plat of the Town to be No. 95." The house, then, was built sometime between 1735, when negotiations for the land were completed, and 1747. Aunt Lucy, so the story goes, ran a bake shop here, but a receipted bill in the possession of the present owner, Mr. W. Clement Claude, to Mrs. Lucy Smith for thirteen days' hire of a cart from Daniel Fowler, is dated June 13, 1812, indicating a much later occupancy. Even so well known an authority as Elihu Riley says of this house, " Its exact date is lost in the misty clouds of age, but its appearance and ancient architecture mark it as one of the oldest in venerable Annapolis. . . . Many years ago there lived in it an ancient colored dame known as Aunt Lucy

[3] *Archives of Maryland*, XL, 30, 268, 269, 452.
[4] Harry W. Hill, *Maryland's Colonial Charm, Portrayed in Silver* (Baltimore, 1938), p. 66.
[5] R. D. 2, f. 216.
[6] Wills 31, f. 337.

Smith." [7] The misty clouds of age begin to dispel when one realizes that this was the home of Patrick Creagh, builder, at about the same time, of The Old Treasury, whose actual age has also all too consistently been pre-dated. And Patrick Creagh too long forgotten.

James Creagh, Patrick's grandfather, died in Kent County on the Eastern Shore in 1703, leaving an estate assessed at £4.17..10, consisting almost entirely of carpenter's tools and navigation instruments.[8] It would seem that he had come over from England, where the roots lead back, as a mariner. Patrick's parents were Patrick and Mary Creagh, and he must have been born in Kent County about 1697. Patrick Creagh, Sr., was a merchant there who first appears in the records as defendant in a suit brought by Stephen Creagh (possibly a relative), Michael Fuller, and Charles Beard of London. They testified that, on November 10, 1697, Creagh had contracted to send them good sound tobacco of the growth of this province in exchange for a cargo of European goods. The tobacco was to be to the full value of the cargo, at the market price quoted on arrival. They claimed to have consigned two such shipments but declared that his return loads fell far short. They sued for £350 plus damages. The case was closed after an Examiner's report that Patrick Creagh was indeed indebted to Beard & Co., but only by the sum of £7.03..9, " which he is ready to pay on demand." [9] From then until 1711, he was involved in a series of cases, both as plaintiff and defendant, and appears to have broken about even. One case, constantly continued, was struck off the record on February 5, 1711, because neither party showed up.[10] It is probable that Patrick, Sr., was dead by this time, and surely so before 1716, when one of the tangle of cases is a proceeding against Mary, his widow and Administrator.[11] Mary and her son, Patrick, may well have been in Annapolis by this time. Mary died here in 1718,[12] and her meagre accounting was turned in, after some official heckling, and with Gustavus Hessilius as surety, by Patrick, Jr., in 1720.[13] After

[7] Elihu Riley, *A History of Anne Arundel County* (Annapolis, 1905), p. 152.
[8] Inventories, WB, No. 3, f. 155.
[9] Provincial Court Judgments, TL No. 3, ff. 665-669.
[10] Provincial Court Judgments, 22, f. 79.
[11] *Ibid.*, VD No. 2, ff. 138-139.
[12] St. Anne's Parish Records, January 17, 1718, f. 42.
[13] Testamentary Proceedings, 23, ff. 307, 322, and Liber 24, ff. 245, 263.

medicine, funeral expenses, and 9 shillings, 6 pence, to Dr. Charles Carroll, there remained just £8.10..11.[14]

On June 1, 1722, Patrick Creagh leased from Benjamin Tasker part of Lot 37, identified on Stoddert's survey of Annapolis as on Market Street, across from and slightly below the intersection of Shipwright. This consisted of 8,112 square feet " being at the End of the Garden Where the Said Benj.'s Dwelling house Did Lately Stand." The rent was 20 shillings a year for forty years if Creagh also built a house thereon forty feet long, with brick chimneys at each end. If he did not build, the rent would jump to 30 shillings, with the usual proviso that if he fell three months behind in rent, the deal was off. Either the sum or the whole idea was formidable to Patrick, or he had other plans. In any event, this became the first of the successively more serious defaults which seem so out of character with all other available facts about him. In December of the same year, Creagh borrowed £60 sterling money of Great Britain from Samuel Peale (also Piele) against the unexpired term of his lease.[15] This he was to pay back on or before two years from that date at Peale's house in London Town. The date came and went and " Pat Creagh have not Paid the sum of Sixty Pounds Sterling nor any part thereof." Peale foreclosed.[16] There was, however, by this time, a house on the property, presumably built by Creagh. In this document, Creagh's wife, Alice, relinquished her dower interest, proving this marriage of which there is no other record. He subsequently, sometime after 1735, married Frances, widow of Ralph Smith, " Taylor." [17] Alice, however, seems to have been the mother of his son, James, and daughter, Elizabeth, judging by their later proven ages. Frances was " with child " in 1731 when her first husband made his will, but his inventory, after his death in 1735, says he has no relatives in Maryland other than Frances, his beneficiary.[18]

Patrick Creagh's next recorded business deal is on March 11, 1730, when he had somehow, from a standing start, amassed the £190 current money of Maryland with which he bought the three lots 95, 98 and 99. He also, on July 29, 1735, hopefully petitioned, " I desire you will enter in my name the Ship Carpenter's lot and the Small Slip of Ground adjoining thereto, lying on the

[14] Accounts, 3, f. 196.
[15] RCW No. 2, ff. 99-101.
[16] SY No. 1, f. 90.
[17] Wills, 20, f. 479.
[18] Inventories, 21, f. 214.

South Side of Prince George Street, as it is not yet improved, and on which I delight to improve, and you will oblige, Your Humble Servant, Pat Creagh." [19] This naïve sounding request actually leads back and leaps forward into history. This site was given the City by Governor Nicholson as a shipyard and accepted, on June 6, 1719, by an Act of Assembly for this purpose, to revert if unused or the rent not paid up.[20] Certainly Creagh built ships here or on the adjoining land to the east which consisted of five and a half acres between Prince George Street and the water, known as " Creagh's Discovery " and patented to him on February 6, 1748.[21] The land itself is off the plat of the City of Annapolis, but near Creagh's home and nearer the Public Gaol he was commissioned to build about this time. Two Acts of Assembly, certified by B. Harwood, Treasurer for the Western Shore of Maryland, allowed Creagh five payments, the first three in 1738, the last two the following year, totalling £1500 for building the gaol (almost invariably spelled " goal ").[22] Many years later title to Creagh's land was in dispute. The patent, original parchment of which is now in the Land Office, was either ignored or not known. Joseph Sands in 1822 deposed that the gaol had been on or near this land as long back as he could remember and was pulled down after the Revolution in 1786-1788.[23]

The crowning achievement of Creagh's career must surely have seemed to be the signing of the Articles of Agreement between His Excellency Thomas Bladen, Esq., Governor of the Province, and Patrick Creagh, painter, on January 28, 1742.[24] The unhappy truth, however, was that this was the beginning of the building of the Governor's house, ultimately known as " Bladen's Folly " until St. John's College received its charter in 1784,[25] acquired and completed it, renaming it McDowell Hall after its first president. By the terms of the 1742 agreement, Patrick Creagh was to make and deliver to Bladen, or the Governor at the time, upon the hill behind Mr. Stephen Bordley's house where the Powder House formerly stood, 400,000 good and well-built bricks, by the

[19] Chancery Records 119, ff. 521-522, Land Office, Annapolis.
[20] *Ibid.*, ff. 512-513, Land Office.
[21] *Ibid.*, f. 62., Land Office.
[22] Chancery Records, 119, f. 521, Land Office.
[23] *Ibid.*, f. 508, Land Office.
[24] RB, No. 3, f. 742 ff.
[25] Tench F. Tilghman, " The Founding of St. John's College," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIV (1949), 75.

last day of that October, in lots so that the Committee might approve them and workmen keep working. He also undertook to deliver 6,000 bushels of clear good lime, made of the best shells, at 8 pence a bushel as fast as it could be burned in the kills [kilns?] and sifted ready for use. The " Publick " was to pay £800, allowed by an Act of Assembly, for the bricks, £200 immediately upon Creagh's giving security for same, £300 on delivery of 200,000 bricks and £300 more on the remainder. For the lime he was to receive £200 in two equal payments.

The project apparently got underway on schedule but ran into difficulties soon thereafter. A bill from Creagh,[26] indicating that he did much more than merely supply bricks and lime, is dated September 22, 1744, but not recorded until May 21, 1747. It is for £629.12..5, itemized as follows: 47 foot of 1½" quartered pine plank, 39 foot of 2", 56 foot of Inch Oak scantling, the hauling of 35 pieces of large framing, tackle hooks, carriage or cart load, 2,445 bushels of lime, 220,000 stock and place bricks, and 11 days' work of Creagh's mason. Added to this is a notation on October 3, for 278 bushels of lime and, on January 9, for 36,900 stock and place bricks, 2 days' work of his team hauling large timber, 29 bolts and spikes and to carting 53 loads of ferris and stone nails. He seems to have done everything *except* paint. To all this Thomas Bladen attests, " I am persuaded the above amount is just but it is to be remembered that the sum of £499 is due the Publick from Mr. Creagh by virtue of a contract or Agreement with his present Excellency Samuel Ogle, as can be made to appear." [27] It has not yet appeared in the course of the present research, but the entire situation is noteworthy for several reasons. Primarily, it is of importance to know that both Thomas Bladen and his successor, Samuel Ogle, dealt directly with Patrick Creagh in so many details of the building of the Governor's house. It is also heart-warming to see Bladen, no longer Governor and the object of some derision for his part in the undertaking, continuing to press claims on Creagh's behalf. Earlier, on September 4, 1745, the *Archives* [28] include this plea from Bladen, " I send you the Account of what money I have received from the Paper Currency office, for the building of a Governor's House, what Disbursements have been made, and what remains due to my self and to Patrick Creagh."

[26] RB, No. 3, f. 743. [27] *Ibid.*, f. 242. [28] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, 136.

Whether these finances were ever satisfactorily straightened out remains obscure, but the evidence seems against it. Patrick Creagh's final petition for payment was referred by the Upper House to the Lower House of the Assembly where it was unanimously disallowed, as were all further funds, on June 4, 1747, with the following fascinating indictment: [29]

> Your Committee further find, That several Bricks in the new House erected on the said Land for the use of the Governor for the Time being, are moulter'd and Decayed; and that there is a Crack in the wall of said House from the Bottom almost to the Top, in the Northeast corner thereof; That there is Round the outside of the said House a Quantity of Portland Stone, Bremen Stone, several Casks of Stucco and some wrought Country Stone; That within the Cellars of the Said House is a large Quantity of Shingles, which appear to lie on the bare Ground; and likewise some marble stone and Bremen Stone lying on the damp Ground, which last appear much Decayed; That there is a large Quantity of plank and scantling lying in great Danger of being spoiled, occasioned by the Rains coming through the Roof of the House; and that part of the sommers of the said House appears to be upon decay; Jews-Ears growing now out of the sides thereof.

It was after this report that it was somewhat understandingly resolved that T. Bladen

> hath not complied with the Directions of the Act entituled, An Act to enable his Excellency Thomas Bladen, Esq., or the Governor for the Time being, to purchase four acres of Land within the ffence of the City of Annapolis, for the use of the public; and to build thereon a Dwelling House and other Conveniences for the Residence of the Governor of Maryland. . . .

All this evidence, coupled with a lack of evidence on the other side seems to indicate that Patrick Creagh should receive much hitherto unmentioned credit, if credit it can be called, for the building of "Bladen's Folly." Simon Duff has more generally received this doubtful honor.[30] Certainly Duff did work on this and other contemporaneous buildings, but, without in the least wishing to detract from Simon's reputation, it still seems only fair to Creagh and to posterity to give the facts about him, direct from the records.

[29] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, 524, 525.

[30] Rebecca Key, "A Notice of Some of the First Buildings with Notices of Some of the Early Residents of Annapolis," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV (1919), 258 ff. Mrs. Key was the daughter of Duff's friend, John Campbell, but only five years old when Simon Duff died.

Simon Duff was married to Johanna, widow of Saladine Eagle, when he bought from Benjamin Hammond and his wife, Sarah, Saladine's daughter and devisee, in September, 1734, for five shillings and as Johanna's dower right, the land her first husband owned at his death, and on which Simon and Johanna Duff had " until lately " lived. He was to retain timber rights to this tract, for the improvement of this property and his own house in town, for Johanna's lifetime.[31] When Patrick Creagh bought from Michael MacNamora, on November 14, 1739, " all the land formerly belonging to Robert Eagle, Saladine Eagle and Robert Eagle, Jr., all deceased," 200 acres then in the tenure of Simon Duff were excepted.[32] " Symon Duff and Hannah, his wife " also appear in the records in 1734,[33] presenting some matrimonial confusion. A notice inserted in the *Maryland Gazette* on May 24, 1745, for " Quilting Work of all kinds performed at the subscriber's House in Annapolis, in the best and newest Manner, as cheap as in London; by a Person from England brought up in the said Business " shows that he lived in the city at that time, but must later have moved back to the country if depositions taken in 1759-1761 can be trusted. These depositions, after his death, are actually the source of most of the first-hand information about Simon Duff.[34]

At some point Simon Duff took on a housekeeper, known affectionately as " Nannie," and also as the mother of his daughter, Mary, and son, Daniel. Mary married Samuel Meade (or Moad) before Duff's death, and Daniel, a minor, was apprenticed by his father just before he died, in 1759, to John Campbell for seven years " to Learn his Art, Mystery or Trade of a Taylor." No will was found immediately after Duff's death, but in December, 1759, Samuel Meade alerted a neighbor, and subsequently all officialdom, that he had found Simon's original will in his own writing, stuck in a desk drawer. It had been, Meade declared, duly witnessed by Elizabeth McLeod and John Riatt, both by then deceased, but the will was never probated.

This set off the controversy that provides an extraordinarily clear contemporary portrait of Simon Duff. In the purported will,

[31] RD No. 2, f. 164.
[32] RD No. 3, f. 242.
[33] IB No. 1, f. 225. Presumably " Hannah " is " Johanna."
[34] Testamentary Papers, Box 58 folder 11.

Simon Duff, carpenter, leaves his estate equally to his two children, and £3 current money to Ann Clark ("Nannie") as long as she remains single. A silver tea pot seems to have been the only tangible bequest of value. The main point appears to be recognition of Mary Meade as her father's heir-at-law and her husband as Administrator. Samuel Meade so petitioned and was answered by Duff's friend, John Campbell, who declared that he and Robert Swan, Duff's attorney, had searched the house, and the desk, so thoroughly, and to no avail, that the will could not have been in it then or later. Campbell also stated categorically that he did not believe any of the signatures authentic. Depositions were subsequently taken from Robert Swan, who agreed with Campbell and stated further that Duff was " so Diffident and really ignorant of Wills and even in affairs wherein he might be supposed to have Knowledge that he could never undertake the Writing of a Will without consulting his friends." Neighbors Richard and Rachel Moss testified that Duff was an overseer on the highway a week before his death, that they had talked with him and he had joked about not having a will. Nannie, in spite of the fact that she stood to disinherit herself, said that on a trip to town this same week before his death, Simon went to see Swan about making a will, but Swan was busy so he left, assuring Nannie that he would try again the next time he went to Annapolis. Hugh McLeod declared that it could not be Simon Duff's signature, being too steady, " his hand having shook for several years before his Death." The writing, in all faith, looks shaky and almost illiterate, but not bad enough, it appears, to convince those who knew him best that it was Simon Duff's. The signatures of Elizabeth McLeod and John Riatt were also challenged on good authority. The upshot was that John Ridout, Commissioner General, ruled the will " Suppositious and a Forgery." John Campbell, appointed by the Court, proceeded with the settling of Duff's accounts [35] and his inventory that came to £266.1..0, including considerable left-over lumber.[36] Throughout this testimony runs a feeling of sympathy and friendship for Duff who was clearly an amiable man, with the all-too-human habit of procrastination, and very little business sense. In stature and material

[35] Accounts, 59, f. 341.
[36] Inventories, 75, f. 305, and 78, f. 154.

achievement, he hardly seems to compare with the more ornery, but unquestionably able, Patrick Creagh.

The signing of the Articles of Agreement with Governor Bladen seems to have had another immediate result. On May 22, 1742, Patrick Creagh and John Brice jointly purchased Swan Neck [37] on the north side of the Severn River for £40 sterling money of Great Britain, consisting of 250 acres, with timber and quarries. In November of the same year, Creagh bought out Brice's half.[38] It looks as though Brice had, in effect, staked his neighbor to this source of raw materials for building. It is of further interest because Brice's own house, now 195 Prince George Street, was, according to Arthur Trader, built about this time.[39] He calls it the "first Brice house in America," and dates it 1737-1739, presenting as extra evidence the fact that John Brice once owned a plantation across the Severn where bricks, made of local clay, were burned, and had in his service at the time of his death an indentured carpenter presumed capable of having done the work. Certainly the house was not on the lot when Brice bought it from the heirs of Amos Garrett for £55 in 1737, but it is the house described in his inventory in which he and his constantly increasing family lived, and which he left by will to his wife, Sarah. As to its date and builder, there is another possibility. Might not the plantation have been Swan Neck and Patrick Creagh the builder of this Brice House, at the time he was under contract to Bladen and in a sort of partnership with Brice. Or perhaps Brice was willing to go into partnership with Creagh in 1742 because he had already worked with him in the earlier construction of Brice's own house, or on the basis of the workmanship apparent in Patrick Creagh's house across Prince George Street.

In addition to the contract to build the Governor's House, payment for The Old Treasury and the "Goal," Creagh crops up periodically on the payroll for other public buildings. For instance, in March, 1743, it is ordered that he be paid £95 for building the Brick Magazine and for 60 square feet of ground.[40] During the years 1740 to 1746, he had a profitable source of income in maintaining on "shoar," and transporting to bases in

[37] RB, No. 1, f. 217.
[38] *Ibid.*, f. 219.
[39] In an article in the possession of W. Clement Claude, Annapolis.
[40] *Archives of Maryland*, XLII, 587.

the West Indies, officers and men of His Majesty's forces.[41] These charter operations presuppose control of ships and stores, and probably also a handsome profit; some of the sums voted him seem prodigious. An advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette*, on August 23, 1745, over his name, indicates that his ships did not return empty-handed from these missions: "To Be Sold; By the Subscriber, good Barbadoes Rum, Muscavado Sugar, good large fresh lymes; also good French brandy by wholesale or retail. Likewise good French claret and 2 likely young negro men, as also good ship-bread." Creagh seems to have had a well-developed faculty for getting a finger in every pie.

Through these years, too, he increased his holdings to include Covell's Folly, a 500-acre tract, "lying on the flat Creek branches of the South River nearest to the Head of the River,"[42] 3⅓ acres of Governor Nicholson's ex-Vineyard in the "Publick Pasture," with buildings, keys, wharfs, profits, and commodities.[43] In an indenture, recorded September 26, 1746, he bought from the numerous heirs of Amos Garrett 120 acres known as "Todd's Range," situated at the head of Dorsey Creek outside the gate of the City of Annapolis.[44] When he later mortgaged this, it had on it a good brick house, quite possibly built by Creagh, but no longer in existence. He also, by then, owned Lot 97 in the City, next to his own, during the lifetime of Charles Crooke.[45] Creagh rented, and may have built, the house on this property, which, geographically, might be the present Patterson house, the last on the north side of Prince George Street. Lots 98 and 99 would thus be approximately the site of the Navy football field, fronting on Prince George Street.

In February, 1748, as aforesaid, he received by patent "Creagh's Discovery," five and a half acres at the foot of Prince George Street, near the gaol, and running to the water.[46] This land, apparently happily used by Creagh as a shipyard, was sold by his son-in-law to James Williams with certain reservations on the value of the title, so that Williams, to protect his investment, also paid rent to the City Corporation for a while, then balked and it became the subject of a long-drawn-out controversy. The case was finally disposed of by a Court of Appeals decision in 1825 which

[41] *Ibid.*, 57, 157, 297.
[42] RD No. 2, f. 57.
[43] RB No. 1, f. 274.
[44] RB No. 2, f. 270.
[45] RB No. 1, f. 275.
[46] Chancery Records, 119, f. 62 *ff.*, Land Office.

ruled, for the City against the heirs of James Williams, that rent was due, with interest for all those intervening years.[47] One interesting thing evolves, however, from the reading of this case: Richard Maccubbin, Creagh's son-in-law, built a street through this property and called it Creagh's Street,[48] and it was so known as late as August, 1784.[49] From a study of the plat, it would seem to be the present Craig Street, flanking the A & P super market in Annapolis. Such is fame!

From 1749 to 1751, Creagh acquired considerable County acreage, including "Chance" on a branch of Curtis Creek,[50] 33 acres near Beard's Creek,[51] and another tract on the south side of South River,[52] in addition to 80 acres on Acton's Creek "near Mr. Bordley's land called Sangate and known as Brushey Neck." [53]

On the record, James Creagh played a brief but vital part in his father's life. He appears first in October, 1748, as the purchaser, and thus of legal age, of 177 acres in Anne Arundel County between the Patuxent River and Patapsco Falls, called "Howard's Chance." [54] On September 27, 1751, James Creagh, mariner, of London, then in Maryland, bought 25 acres from John Barnes on the east side of Browne's River of Patuxent.[55] It was surmised that the original James Creagh was a mariner from London; his great-grandson's reversion strengthens this supposition. It is also intriguing to find only James mentioned in *Anne Arundel County Gentry* and only because he bought this property, "Barnes' Luck" and "Creagh's Inlargement."

James lived in London, but was often in Maryland as commander of his father's ships carrying tobacco on consignment, and, presumably, return loads of European goods in a trade similar to that of the earlier Patrick. Notices appear from 1751 to 1754 that James Creagh, Commander of the *Hanbury* or the *Charming Molly* will take tobacco to London at £7 sterling a ton.[56] At least one return load caused him some trouble when a certain James Anderson sued for his freedom, and won, claiming that he had been kidnapped in England and delivered here as a servant.[57] In September, 1754, Patrick Creagh sold to Daniel Chamier and John

[47] Harris & Johnson, 6, 434 *ff.*
[48] Chancery Records, 119, Land Office.
[49] NH 2, f. 123.
[50] RB No. 3, f. 307.
[51] *Ibid.*, f. 328.
[52] *Ibid.*, f. 399.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] *Ibid.*, f. 61.
[55] *Ibid.*, f. 422.
[56] *Ibid.*, ff. 621, 644, 385.
[57] ISB, No. 2, f. 99.

Carnan for £800 sterling money of Great Britain "all that good ship Hanbury of 200 tons or thereabouts now at anchor at the mouth of the Severn River under James Creagh's command and now bound out to London, with all masts, sails, yards, ropes, anchors, cables, boats, and tackle." [58] On July 9, 1755, appears the startling announcement that "I, Patrick Creagh, commander of the Snow Endeavour will take tobacco to London on consignment to Mr. Thomas Flowerdene and Norton or any other merchant at £7 a ton sterling." [59] Creagh was by this time an old man for such a strenuous jaunt. James now disappears from the story and must be either dead or banished. Much later his sister, Elizabeth Maccubin, and his widow, Hannah, of London, share the final proceeds of the sale of his Maryland property.[60]

The last reference to James himself is on May 23, 1754, when he went surety for the executors of the estate of Rowland Carnan.[61] He was also very much alive in April of that year when, on the 16th of that month, he witnessed his father's signature on the most important and appalling document of his whole eventful life, a document which Patrick subsequently treated with his usual unconcern over unpleasant pieces of paper, but one which had far-reaching results.

How Patrick Creagh incurred a debt in London in 1753, equal to his then considerable holdings in Maryland, cannot be ascertained conclusively by existing records so far revealed on this side of the Atlantic. The most reasonable explanation seems to be that it was in some way connected with the tobacco trade and his son, James. This theory is strengthened by the fact that the creditors were agents of a tobacco firm, and that the only noticeable effort Creagh made toward raising money for settlement of this debt, except for mortgaging the rest of his property some time later to an ubiquitous Charles Carroll,[62] was the sale of the *Hanbury* out from under James' command. Whatever the cause, the result was potentially devastating. In an indenture, recorded September 11, 1754,[63] Patrick Creagh staked almost everything he owned against a debt of £1800 sterling money of Great Britain,

[58] RB, No. 3, f. 707.
[59] BB No. 1, f. 71.
[60] IB No. 3, ff. 320-323, 326.
[61] Testamentary Proceedings, 26, f. 187.
[62] BB No. 2, f. 1.
[63] Provincial Court, IE, 9B, f. 486 ff., Land Office.

with legal interest from March 29, 1753, to William Tower Bartholemew and Joseph Janson, assignees of John Philpot and John Hutchinson, late of London, Bankrupts. Listed were the dwelling house and Lot 95, part of Lot 96, the Brewhouse and 3½ acres of Governor Nicholson's Vineyard, Swan Neck, Todd's Range (with the good brick house thereon), part of Brushey Neck, the schooner *Speedwell*, and four negro men. As recovery, he was to pay £360 sterling, with interest, each August 1, for five years. He was permitted to sell any of this property in order to meet the payments, provided ten days' notice was given Pomeroy and Janson, and all money thus realized was to be paid over to them. As events subsequently disclosed, no part of this money was ever paid by Creagh, or, until the final settlement of his estate, by anyone else.[64] He, nevertheless, continued to live in his dwelling house, and, for all practical purposes, to own and work the county land. It is hard to tell whether Patrick Creagh was arrogant or lucky; he was not stupid.

His affairs, however, were on a descending scale. In April, 1756, Patrick Creagh and his wife, Frances, sold to Richard and Elizabeth Maccubbin, the house on Lot 24 [65] in the City of Annapolis, which Frances had inherited from her first husband,[66] and which was presumably razed to make way for the present Ridout House. It is not inconceivable to suppose that Creagh built this house sometime between 1731 when the lot was purchased and the death, in 1735, of its owner, whose widow Creagh married.

On May 6, 1757, Creagh mortgaged his remaining property to Charles Carroll against a debt of £230 sterling and £60 current money. This included Lots 98 and 99, the rest of the slaves, an indentured servant, and the family silver, chief of which bore the Creagh arms or crest.[67] After Creagh's death, his son-in-law, Richard Maccubbin, picked up this mortgage,[68] building his own house, now gone, on the lots and, it is hoped, rescuing the family silver, which, in the natural course of events, should still be in the possession of the Creagh-Maccubbin descendants, now represented in many County families of note.

[64] Testamentary Proceedings, 38, f. 135.
[65] BB No. 1, f. 229.
[66] Wills, 20, f. 479.
[67] BB, No. 2, f. 1.
[68] BB, No. 2, f. 468.

More trouble was in store for Patrick Creagh, testified to by an announcement in the *Maryland Gazette*, on June 28, 1759, that there would be exposed to public sale, to the highest bidder, on July 31, 1759,

> a Lot or Parcel of Ground containing about Three Acres, lying on the Severn River and contiguous to North East Street in the New Town of Annapolis; on which said Lot or Parcel of Ground are the following Improvements, viz: A large Brick Brew-House, a Brick Dwelling-House, one Story high with two Rooms and a Passage on the Lower Floor, a small Frame House all now in the Possession of Mr. Patrick Creagh, and also a small Brick House now made use of by the Province as a Magazine for Powder. . . .

Unless this is the 3⅓ acres of Governor Nicholson's Vineyard with the Brew House on it that he acquired from Bridgett Donaldson, in 1742,[69] and mortgaged in 1754,[70] its source is, at present, unidentifiable. He certainly did provide the Province with 60 square feet of ground on which to build the Brick Magazine.[71]

The ascendant and descending curve of the life of Patrick Creagh is now very nearly complete. He died in 1760, leaving behind a marvelously tangled mass of debts, but also the tangible assets of his public and private building.[71a] Most conclusively proved, and for the first time, in the history of "Aunt Lucy's Bake Shop," the story of which has a fairy tale ending. Built by Patrick Creagh, it was mortgaged by him, along with other properties, in 1754. When it was put up for sale to satisfy the long-standing debt, Thomas Rutland, himself a builder, immediately obtained a sort of option by the payment of five shillings and the promise to pay one peppercorn on demand at the end of the year.[72] In an indenture recorded September 28, 1762, Rutland bought in the premises for £350 as the highest bidder.[73] The fairy tale twist is that Rutland later ran into financial difficulties from which he was at least partially rescued by Patrick Creagh's grandson, John Creagh Maccubbin.

[69] RB No. 1, f. 274.
[70] Provincial Court, IE, 9B, f. 486, Land Office.
[71] *Archives of Maryland*, XLII, 587.
[71a] The published obituary reads, "Monday Night [Dec. 22, 1760] last Died here, after a few Days illness, Mr. *Patrick Creagh*, Merchant, who had long been a very useful, industrious, and honest inhabitant of this City." *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 24, 1760.
[72] DD No. 2, f. 206, Land Office.
[73] DD No. 2, f. 210, Land Office.

John Creagh was the oldest son of Richard Maccubbin and, with his mother, Elizabeth, Patrick's daughter, co-executor of his father's will and considerable estate,[74] when, on January 5, 1786, he bought the house and Lot 95 from Thomas Rutland for £2,000 current money.[75] This was a healthy sum, not only in view of previous transactions, but also in the light of real estate values almost up to the present time. It is fairly obvious that the figure was arrived at partly to alleviate Rutland's then enormous indebtedness to the Maccubbins, but perhaps also because of family sentiment for the original Creagh house. The fact that the Maccubbins then lived in their own much larger house nearby, on Lots 98 and 99,[76] and that it was shortly after that that Aunt Lucy took over, indicates that the deal was more propitious than necessary. Aunt Lucy, or her mother, may even have been originally part of the prosperous Maccubbin household and this house, in effect, the servants' quarters.

It seems quite evident that Richard Maccubin discovered the extent of his father-in-law's financially fatal debts only after Creagh's death. He certainly set about straightening things out with admirable dispatch and business acumen. What must have been expected to be a substantial estate, in surety for £1800 sterling[77] (a macabre coincidence since this was the sum of the original debt), turned out to be almost nothing at all. Creagh's Inventory[78] reads like that of a relatively poor man, although a self-reliant one with tools for a score of trades. Ear trumpets indicate that he was deaf, but he must have been exceptionally healthy for his age if he really made that trip to London six years before his death. He had worked hard and prospered. In theory, he had lost it all, although actually he retained physical possession until he died, and, although it took many years, his son-in-law was able to absolve the estate of the entire indebtedness,[79] largely by the logical solution Creagh himself scorned to use—selling his land to meet the payments on the mortgage, and to pay off the mortgage itself.

[74] Wills, EV, No. 1, f. 100.
[75] NH 2, f. 376.
[76] See 73.
[77] Testamentary Proceedings, 38, f. 135.
[78] Inventories, 76, ff. 82-89.
[79] Accounts, 61, f. 361. Also WD, No. 5, f. 361, and Box 66, folder 42.

There are contradictions in any later-day construction of the character of Patrick Creagh, but hardly cause for contradiction of the fact that he played an important, too long forgotten, part in the early building of Annapolis, and in nearly every aspect of contemporary Colonial life. It is to be hoped that this, and further research, will help determine his exact role, and bring posthumous credit where, and always if, credit is due.

THE JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY MANUSCRIPTS

By Lloyd W. Griffin *

SOME months before his death in 1870, John Pendleton Kennedy added a codicil to his will containing the following instructions for the disposition of his private papers:

> I . . . give to the [Peabody] Institute my several bound volumes of the Manuscripts of my printed works which I have preserved in the original manuscript copies as also my two bound volumes of Autograph Letters which have been written to me. These I give to the Institute with a special request that they be carefully preserved as a testimony of my interest in its success. . . .
>
> It is my wish that the manuscript volumes containing my journals, my note or commonplace books, and the several volumes of my own letters in Press copy, as also all my other letters (which I desire to be bound in volumes) that are now in loose sheets, shall be . . . packed away in a strong walnut box, closed and locked, and then delivered to the Peabody Institute to be preserved by them unopened until the Year Nineteen Hundred, when the same shall become the property of the Institute to be kept amongst its books and records.

Kennedy's requirements were met. Thirty years later over 130 manuscript volumes, including the original manuscripts and drafts of his own published works, were made available to all serious inquirers. The sheer bulk of the collection would make it an important addition to 19th century Baltimoreana; however, the breadth of Kennedy's interests, his achievements in the fields of literature, politics, business, and public service, and the range and significance of his correspondence combine to form a surprisingly complete panorama of a vital fifty-year segment of American history as it affected a Marylander.

With a few notable exceptions, the art of collecting and pre-

* The Peabody Institute Library, one of the great research libraries of the Nation, does not collect manuscripts but does possess the papers of Kennedy, its first president. The author, at the request of the editors, wrote this article while Reference Librarian at the Peabody Institute Library.—*Ed.*

serving one's private effects for posterity has now been lost, perhaps because a sense of significance has disappeared, more probably because of the lack of leisure. Kennedy's effort to record his activities, his opinions, and his acquaintanceships, therefore, is the more surprising to us today since it reveals in minute detail a variety of experience almost unbelievable in scope.

Like the younger Richard Henry Dana, whom in many respects of temperament and interests he resembles, Kennedy is usually remembered solely for a restricted body of literary works. But how much more he was to his contemporaries can be gauged quite accurately by an inspection of the Kennedy Papers. The manuscripts reveal him as a soldier at Bladensburg and North Point, a lawyer, a member of the legislatures of Maryland and the United States, a manufacturer and financier, an investment counsellor, a patron of letters and father confessor to Edgar Allan Poe, a benefactor of science and the leading supporter of Samuel F. B. Morse and his electromagnetic telegraph; an influential political figure in the Whig Party, Secretary of the Navy at the time of Perry's expedition to Japan, Provost of the University of Maryland; President of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Institute and the virtual founder of the Library; an important member of the Maryland Historical Society. The variety of rôles is almost infinite.

Kennedy's circle of friends and acquaintances was large and included at one time or another many of the major figures of the period in America and abroad. Here again the problem of enumerating them as they appear in his writings and correspondence is not one of scarcity but of superfluity. His literary work brought him into contact with Irving, N. P. Willis, Poe, Cooper, John Esten Cooke, Philip Pendleton Cooke, Peter Hoffman Cruse, David Hoffman, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Paulding, Simms, Prescott, Dickens, Thackeray, W. S. Landor, Lever, Samuel Rogers, and G. P. R. James, while his participation in civil affairs made him acquainted with Taylor, Fillmore, Buchanan, Webster, Clay, Robert C. Winthrop, Benton, Sir Edward Bulwer, Don Angel Calderon de la Barca, Cass, Bancroft, and many others. To all his friends he was known as a *bon vivant* and a favorite host, either at his town house in Baltimore or in the little summer cottage on the Patapsco at Ellicott's Mills.

The first important segment of the Kennedy Collection at the

Peabody Library is the thirty-five volume set of journals covering roughly the forty-year period from 1829 to 1869. Here are the day to day jottings of a busy and influential man, but—significantly—a man who could appraise the importance of events as they occurred.

The progress of the dispute over slavery, for example, is here related with a clarity and lack of bias well-nigh unique in the fierce partisanship of the time. Kennedy deplored the fanaticism of the Abolitionists, yet even his family ties with the South could not shake his belief in the Union. The journals record the dispute between states' rights and federalism from the Missouri Compromise and the Wilmot Proviso through the Election of 1860 and the Civil War into the Reconstruction Period. Typical is a brief passage from the entry of Sunday, April 14, 1861, on the surrender of Fort Sumter:

> The capitulation of Fort Sumter is complete. The vessels sent to its relief have been useless,—the expedition a miserable failure. The South is wild with joy in the Secession States. They talk of reducing Fort Pickens at Pensacola and then marching to Washington. We are likely to have war in earnest.[1]

In addition to the primary series of journals, covering the period from 1829 to 1869, there are seventeen supplemental volumes detailing such activities as a tour to the White Mountains of New Hampshire in 1833, a trip on railroad business to Richmond with Louis McLane and Spear Nicholas in 1838, travel in Canada in 1847 and in the United States in 1848, three journal series on European travel in 1856, 1857, and 1866-1868, and, finally, a visit to Cuba in 1865-1866. Reflective, analytic, searching, humorous, Kennedy's journals record at once seemingly trivial minutiae and the momentous events of a troublous era in American history. Portions of the volumes have been published, yet the main body of materials remains largely untouched.

The second great source of general historical and literary materials is the collection of thirty-four volumes of letters both by and to Kennedy from 1812 to the year of his death, 1870. The main seventeen-volume series of letters to Kennedy is alphabetically arranged.[2] Supplemental volumes, however, are arranged

[1] " Journals," XII, 266.

[2] Among the correspondents are Agassiz, Nathan Appleton, Bancroft, Beecher,

chronologically. These include a volume of letters from schoolfellows; Maryland and Virginia friends such as Sinclair, Pennington, Cruse, Howard, Prince, C. J. Walsh, John Strother, and Jerome Bonaparte; and Kennedy's own relatives, dated from 1812 to 1832. Bound in is the earliest of the Kennedy letters at the Peabody Library written to his uncle Philip C. Pendleton, of Martinsburg, Virginia, just after the Battle of Bladensburg:

Baltimore August 29th 1814

Dear Uncle

In consequence of the alarm in this place my mother has thought it adviseable [*sic*] to send the children off to Martinsburg. We are all here under a confirmed apprehension of the approach of the British army, and I am sure we will not yield without a severe struggle. Great preparations are making for their reception. No inhabitant of the city is idle.—I have just returned from Bladensburg with the remnant of our army—pretty much fatigued—and disposed to think more highly of British regulars.—The particulars of the action are everywhere in print, and I can add nothing more of what I heard or saw. General Ross is very much esteemed in our army for his kind and generous treatment to our prisoners: we are well assured that no outrages will be permitted while he has the command.—We are all well here and in good spirits—I do not suppose my mother will leave town unless it is attacked.

Yours
[signed] John P. Kennedy [3]

"Letters, 1838-53," miscellaneous items addressed to Kennedy, are followed by two volumes of correspondence from his Philadelphia, New York, and Boston publishers, dating from 1832 to 1870, concerned with the various editions of his works. In these letters may be seen some of the problems, concerns, and machinery of 19th century book publishing and primary evidence of the relationship between author and publisher.

Park Benjamin, Jerome N. Bonaparte, Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain, H. M. Brackenridge, Buchanan, Calhoun, Carlyle, Rufus Choate, T. H. Chivers, Clay, John Esten Cooke, Jefferson Davis, Dickens, E. Everett, Fillmore, Greeley, R. W. Griswold, Fitz Greene Halleck, David Hoffman, Holmes, Baron von Humboldt, Irving, Reverdy Johnson, Elisha Kent Kane, Charles Kean, Chancellor James Kent, Landor, the Comte de Lasteyrie du Saillant, J. H. B. Latrobe, Abbott Lawrence, R. E. Lee, H. S. Legaré, Lever, Francis Lieber, Macaulay, Madison, John Marshall, Brantz Mayer, Motley, John Neal, Sir Richard Pakenham, J. K. Paulding, George Peabody, Commodore Perry, William Pinkney, Poe, Prescott, G. P. Putnam, Samuel Rogers, Winfield Scott, Catherine M. Sedgwick, Seward, Silliman, Simms, E. D. E. N. Southworth, E. M. Stanton, A. H. Stephens, D. H. Strother, Taney, Zachary Taylor, Thackeray, J. L. A. Thiers, Gulian Verplanck, S. T. Wallis, Webster, N. P. Willis, R. C. Winthrop, and William Wirt.

[3] "Letters to Schoolfellows," [1].

The letters by Kennedy himself in press copy are a mine of largely unexplored material valuable for its political, social, and literary content. The five-volume series from Kennedy to his wife Elizabeth provides an intimate view of life in and out of Baltimore from 1828 to 1863. But it is the six-volume series of letters to various addressees from 1846 to 1870 which reveals Kennedy's participation in the affairs of his time on local, state, and national levels. Here are the letters to Poe, Simms, Irving, Prescott, "Black Dan" Webster, Fillmore, Taylor, and others of intellectual, political, and literary prominence. Kennedy here struggles intelligently and bodly against the chain of circumstances which resulted, in spite of his efforts to effect a rapprochement, in the Civil War. In all, the last six volumes of Kennedy's own letters total 3,319 manuscript pages. This series is now partially indexed. When completed the index should provide a most useful tool for those interested in the history and culture of the mid-19th century and in the position of Baltimore as a cultural and literary center.

Another valuable portion of the Kennedy collection is that containing literary materials and manuscripts. Here are to be found, first of all, the manuscript versions of Kennedy's published works: *Swallow Barn, Horse-Shoe Robinson, Rob of the Bowl, Quodlibet, A Defense of the Whigs*, the *Life of Wirt, The Border States,* the *Ambrose Letters,* and *At Home and Abroad.* The *Swallow Barn* manuscript, in particular, contains interesting preliminary drafts which reveal Kennedy's methods of composition and correction, and several sheets of pencil drawings by the author himself giving a representation of the Virginia plantation house as he visualized it.

A small red line-stamped calf notebook records the meetings and members of an early Baltimore social and literary organization, the Monday Club.[4] The first meeting, at Kennedy's house in Mount Vernon Place, March 18, 1835, was held to initiate a weekly gathering of the gentlemen of the city. The meeting place was to revolve each time, the host to provide a modest supper of no more than two dishes and little wine, "relying upon whiskey punch as the staple." Present at the first meeting were George Calvert, H. H. Hayden, Gorham Brooks, Charles Howard, Josias

[4] An article on the Monday Club, based on this volume, will appear in this journal in 1954.—*Ed.*

Pennington, John S. Skinner, and Philip Pendleton Kennedy. John Pendleton Kennedy lists Dr. Robert Dunglison as present, but later notes, "Upon reflection I find that I am mistaken in saying that Dunglison was there. He got only half way, where, (the night being dark and tempestuous) he stuck fast in the mud, and when he extricated himself, for fear of further mishap he went home." Later members included Robert Gilmor, J. H. B. Latrobe, John and David Hoffman, Richard Steuart, Benjamin C. Howard, and Archbishop Eccleston. The record stops with the entry for October 26, 1840.

The "Catalogue of the Library of Hon. John P. Kennedy" enumerates Kennedy's private collection of books, numbering 5,188 volumes by 1863. Here is an excellent example of a "gentleman's library" of which a contemporary European might well have been proud. Besides the works of philosophy, religion, classical and English literature, science, and history, making up the backbone of the collection, there are numerous items of American fiction, among them three books by Hawthorne, fourteen by Irving, seven by Cooper, six by Simms, and—surprisingly enough—*Uncle Tom's Cabin*.[5] Most of the books, autographed by Kennedy, were willed to the Peabody Library and may still be consulted.

"My Books," an eighteen-page pamphlet, is Kennedy's unfinished attempt to formulate a classification scheme for this library, utilizing the three Baconian headings: memory, judgment, and imagination.

Of interest as specimens of Kennedy's method of literary craftsmanship are a number of volumes, similar to Hawthorne's *American* and *English Notebooks,* containing hints and notes for stories and essays. Many of them exhibit a gothic element and a marked similarity to Irving's short tales. One in particular, "The Story of the Dismal Mill," is a blend of the grisly and the humorous:

[5] Of Mrs. Stowe's masterpiece, Kennedy wrote his friend Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts: "Our ladies have read Uncle Tom: I have only looked into it. They like it. I perceive it to be one of that class of books which written by a skillful hand, may excite any amount of feeling against any institution by aggregating all its evils in one series of adventures. It may be all drawn faithfully from facts—but there is falsehood in presenting the story as a characteristic picture of *common incidents*. To be true they ought to be described as *uncommon*. . . . [This kind of presentation] is unfair, in every case—but it is positively mischievous in the slave case, because it ministers to a very wicked agitation of the day." Letter of June 3, 1852, in "Letters, December 22, 1851, to May 19, 1853," pp. 29-30.

A haunted mill, that had once been the scene of some dreadful tragedy. The Miller described—Archy Backbent a disorderly savage mysterious man who is supposed in a fit of passion to have thrown his child into the hopper—and baked her in a loaf for his wife's supper— [6]

Other fragmentary plots and jottings include " The Mysterious Dinner," " Traveller's Stories of South America," " The Man of the Mountain," and " The Spear of Ithuriel."

Further tools of the writing or literary trade are several notebooks of extracts and quotations from the Bible, Tacitus, Aristotle, Shakespeare, Marlowe, Dryden, La Rochefoucauld, Thomson, Shelley, and others. In addition, there are manuscript notes on Wirt, Calvert, religion, state sovereignty, states' rights, the many political questions of the day, and on a politico-historical work Kennedy planned to write on the American colonies just prior to the Revolution, but which he never completed.

The titles of some of his manuscript drafts of essays and speeches indicate the breadth of his interests: " A Legend of Maryland," [7] " Progress," " History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal," " The U. S. Exploring Expedition," " Baltimore Long Ago," " Chronicles of Baltimore," " Ethos," " The B. & O. Rail Road," " Chapter on Democracy," " Mesmerism," " Animal Magmetism," and " Thoughts on the Rebellion."

Besides these manuscript drafts, some of which were never revised and published, the collection contains several scrapbooks of newspaper articles and other ephemera prepared by or dealing with Kennedy. Here too are the contemporary reviews and critical opinions of his books.

Finally, the portion of the Kennedy Collection comprising literary materials and manuscripts contains several autobiographical items, some of which are transcribed in the Tuckerman biography of Kennedy.[8]

The fourth major section of the Collection—eleven volumes of newspaper clippings—makes available a carefully gathered and collated body of political, economic, and social data on Maryland and America in the 1840's, 50's and 60's.

" The History of the doings of the Baltimore & Ohio Rail Road

[6] " Hints, Ideas for Stories and Essays," unpaged.

[7] " Finally written out . . . and published in the *Atlantic Monthly,* Boston, in July-Aug., 1862 [i. e., 1860]."

[8] Henry T. Tuckerman, *The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy* (New York, 1871).

and how it come to pass that the road was not made to Pittsburgh" records the defeat of Kennedy's long struggle to finance the extension of the Baltimore and Ohio westward to connect with the Pittsburgh and Connellsville Railroad Company.

Several volumes concern the policies of the Whig Party and its opponents; one, the fiscal and monetary problems current in 1840 and the dispute over state banks; another, the tariff, free trade, the "Pet Bank" system, and the public debt, in 1844; and a third, a political fence-mending tour of the South with Millard Fillmore in 1854.

Two volumes compiled by Kennedy in 1866-1867 while in Europe to attend the Universal Exposition at Paris give current English and French views on the exposition, on contemporary literature, and on American policies and problems as seen through European eyes.

Finally, "The Great Rebellion" contains newspaper excerpts—largely from Baltimore papers—dating from the attack on Fort Sumter in April, 1861, to November, 1865. Here are reported the surrender of Sumter, the secession of Virginia, the Baltimore Riot of 1861, the imprisonment of S. Teackle Wallis for alleged treasonable sympathies with the Confederacy, European impressions of the war, news from the South, and English violations of neutrality.

There are in addition two minor sections in the Collection, consisting of notes and miscellaneous items. One volume contains Kennedy's memoranda and memorabilia while Secretary of the Navy in 1852; and another, his notes on the International Commission on Weights and Measures and Money, held at Paris in 1867, and on the Exposition Universelle of the same year, to which he was one of the United States Commissioners.

Among the miscellanea are two volumes of business memoranda, dating from 1846 to 1870; Kennedy's personal legal and financial papers; both the manuscript "Memorial" and the "Minutes" of the Permanent Committee of the New York Convention of the Friends of Domestic Industry, 1833, of which he was secretary; and a collection of calling cards and envelopes.

Finally, there is a portfolio of commissions, diplomas, honorary appointments, and other official papers providing at least an indication of the degree of recognition accorded Kennedy by his

contemporaries. Here are his honorary doctorate from Harvard; his certificate as a Chevalier of the Ordre Impérial de la Légion d'Honneur; and membership certificates of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Philosophical Society, and numerous other institutions and organizations.

Even a superficial inspection of the John Pendleton Kennedy collection will afford a speaking acquaintanceship with 19th century Baltimore, some knowledge of the state of Southern literature (of which Kennedy was a kind of elder patron, critic, and court of appeals), and a fair understanding of the political questions of moment from the misnamed Era of Good Feelings to the Reconstruction Period. And stepping back to view the entire collection, one considers with a certain wonder the man who raised such a methodical monument for posterity. Plagued by recurring ill health and the lack of a driving energy and intensity, he is the more to be admired.

Yet one sees throughout the letters, the journals, the manuscript scraps of essays and tales never completed, a dissipation of effort on relatively unimportant matters. Board meetings, secretaryships of various local bodies, countless speeches, entertainment of anyone and everyone of any note so occupied Kennedy's time that he had little left for serious writing or for those public offices of responsibility and trust which he might so well have filled. The parallel of Kennedy and Richard Henry Dana, Jr., again, is striking and unmistakable. James Russell Lowell's statement on the death of the latter could be applied to both: "He is a very great loss in every way—a loss to the world no less than to his country and friends. . . . He never had the public career he should have had, both for his own sake and ours. . . ." [9]

Indeed, no one realized more strongly the wasting effect of trivialities upon his powers than did Kennedy himself. In a letter to William Gilmore Simms, he writes:

> I greet all your letters with a most earnest welcome, and always with a little envy at the proof they give me of your industry. You work, whilst I only talk of it. I have a hundred projects only—to set off against your hundred performances. Every mail almost—often enough to say *every*—

[9] Letter to John W. Field, January 17, 1882, quoted in *Letters of James Russsell Lowell,* edited by C. E. Norton (Boston, 1904), III, 97.

brings me something of yours done. My time is absorbed, *wasted,* with the little villainous shuffles of the business of the day—letters—an occasional rail road report—an *infernal* lecture, now and then, and dribblets of occupation which leaves me no time to write *what I have in hand.* I spend five or six hours a day in my library—I have hardly an hour a day to read print. I have no wordly [worldly?] affairs—meaning nothing out of doors, and nothing what, on Change, they would call business—to draw me out of my vocation—and yet under all these conditions, I do nothing worth keeping or showing.[10]

But even though Kennedy was a man of unrealized potentialities, this very preoccupation with trivia resulted in an almost unrivalled picture of day to day life during a half century of American history in the making. In fact, age has given to Kennedy's trivia a patina of value as elements of social, political, and literary history. The Kennedy collection would deserve attention if it were made up exclusively of ephemeral details. This limning of the commonplace—the most difficult of historical materials to find—is the method of Boswell and Lockhart. The basis is here for a superlative biography of a distinguished Marylander or for the many historical studies yet to be made of the Middle States during the last century.

[10] Letter of February 29, 1852, in "Letters, December 22, 1851, to May 19, 1853," pp. 106-7.

FOREIGN TRAVELLERS IN MARYLAND, 1900–1950

By Lawrence S. Thompson

IN the first half of the 20th century thirty-one foreign visitors to Maryland wrote books about their trips to the United States and included in them material on Maryland. Nearly all were attracted to Maryland by some aspect of Baltimore, and only three failed to visit (or at least to record a visit) to the metropolis. Indeed, it seems that none of them crossed to the western side of the Baltimore-Washington highway; and thus the total result of their narratives falls far short of giving a full and fair picture of the state. Nevertheless, what they have to say is significant as evidence of what foreigners think about Maryland.

The colorful life of Baltimore, the history, educational institutions, and society of a great city, have provided ample material for travel writers. Scholars such as Konen, Lotsy, and Pfister found in Johns Hopkins an institution comparable to the great European universities, and laymen such as Iorga and Aguerri were equally sensitive to the significance of Hopkins in the world of scholarship. The U. S. Naval Academy has attracted more foreign visitors to Annapolis than any other aspect of that community, but it has made no such enduring impression on educated foreign travellers as Hopkins. The literary life of Baltimore has also claimed the attention of foreign visitors. Piazza, Pasquier, and Vianzone make pious references to Poe and even pilgrimages to places associated with his life, and Roda Roda takes cognizance of the importance of H. L. Mencken as a major literary figure.

The religious life of the city, specifically, the Roman Catholic Church and its affiliated institutions, has been a major point of interest for two European clergymen, Father Weiser and Father Klein; and devout laymen such as Konen and Vianzone have reported interviews with Cardinal Gibbons that may well prove

to be valuable sources for a biography of this outstanding prelate. Baltimore's colorful history has received less attention than one might normally expect, and Europeans are likely to be more interested in isolated stories such as that of Jerome Bonaparte than in Baltimore's significant rôle in American political and economic history. Foreign travellers in the South have a general tendency to be especially critical of the race problem, but in the border states this is a matter of little concern. Only Pasquier gives any attention to the position of the Negro in Baltimore.

Two extremes in the life of Baltimore have received attention from foreigners that is not likely from Americans writing about their own country. The Swedish sailor Nils Frederikson has furnished an account of the waterfront dives from the viewpoint of the seafearing man on shore leave, and Stephan Berghoff and Arthur Heye, the German hoboes, have described " skid row " and the jungle. On the other hand, Térèse Vianzone associated exclusively with the upper echelons of Baltimore society and has recorded interesting details from the life of this element of the city's population.

In each decade of the 20th century except that of World War I there has been a fairly constant stream of foreign authors who have discussed Maryland in their books: five between 1900 and 1910, two between 1910 and 1920, nine between 1920 and 1930, nine between 1930 and 1940, and six between 1940 and 1950. A third, eleven to be exact, have been Germans, German Swiss, and Austrians; four Frenchmen and Belgians; four writers whose native language is Spanish (one Nicaraguan, one Argentine, and two Puerto Ricans); three Brazilians; three Swedes; two Dutchmen; two Danes; one Roumanian; and one Italian.

This study has been part of a larger project relative to travel in the southern and border states. Over 3,000 foreign-language travel books on North America have been examined, and it has been found that some 400 titles describe the states south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio. Every effort has been made to make the bibliography comprehensive; and not only all national bibliographies but also the subject catalogs of the largest American libraries have been searched carefully. Nevertheless, it is a calculated risk of the bibliographer that he is likely to miss some important title in a study of this sort. He can only hope that any

omissions will be caught and entered as a supplement to the list for 1950-2000.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aguerri, Josefa Toledo de. *Al correr de la pluma; crónicas de viaje, escritas para "Revista feminina ilustrada" (de agosta a dicimebre de 1920) desde Costa Rica y Estados Unidos de América, pasando por Panamá y La Habana.* Managua, Tipografía y encuadernación nacional, 1924. 332 pp. Date: Letter from Baltimore is dated April 2, 1920. On pp. 149-157 Sra. de Aguerri comments most favorably on the educational institutions (higher and secondary) of Baltimore and the superior civic virtues of the citizens.

Berghoff, Stephan. *Joes Abenteuer im wilden Westen.* Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder & Co., 1934. 200 pp. Date: Early 1930's. Stranded in Baltimore (p. 158 *et seq.*), the adventurous hero is unable to get a job on a boat going back to Germany. He is involved in a particularly gory tavern brawl, works in a bar, and gets a job on an oyster boat. The story of his experiences on the Chesapeake oyster boat is amusing and realistic. After some further tribulations in Baltimore's waterfront district, Joe ships on a vessel headed back to Germany.

Caneppa, Victorio. *Relatorio sobre os estabelecimentos penaes dos Estados Unidos da America do Norte.* Rio de Janeiro, Imprimiu "ASA," Artes gráficas, 1946. 85 pp. Date: Late 1945, early 1946. Caneppa, a Brazilian penal official, was a guest of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and visited many prisons, both state and federal. He visited the Maryland State Penitentiary in Baltimore (pp. 30-31), the House of Correction and Women's Reformatory at Jessups (pp. 31-33), and the Maryland State Reformatory near Baltimore (p. 34). His report is objective but unimaginative.

Cecchi, Emilio. *America amara.* Florence, G. C. Sansoni, 1940. 2nd edition. 407 pp. Date: Sometime in 1930s. Pp. 193-250 of this book deal with the South (Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina), but not in the strict order of Cecchi's intinerary. Cecchi, obviously writing for a fascist public, picks faults wherever he can find them, but he is much kinder to the South than to the rest of the nation. He gives a brief account of Annapolis and the U. S. Naval Academy. Baltimore receives more attention, with a good deal of material on Edgar Allan Poe (inspired by a visit to his grave) and some eyebrow-raising comments on a burlesque show (which he probably enjoyed thoroughly).

Cochart, Emmanuel J. *Ah! si vous alliez aux États-Unis.* Nancy, Editions de l'Union économique de l'est, 1930. 301 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. On pp. 227-229 there is a description of Annapolis. Whenever Cochart sees anything good in America, he admits it grudgingly.

Frederikson, Nils. *Reise ohne Ende, ein Seemannsleben.* Zürich, Albert Müller Verlag A.-G., n. d. 288 pp. Date: 1932. On p. 280 there is a

sailor's-eye-view of Baltimore, mostly from the interior of waterfront dives. The Swedish original, entitled *Resa utan ende,* has not been located in an American library.

Gislén, Torsten. *Från Hawaiis stränder till New-Yorks skyskrapor: minnen från en naturvetenskaplig forskningsfärd.* Stockholm, Saxon & Lindströms förlag, 1935. 199 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. At the end of his book Gislén describes his biological expeditions into areas of Virginia and Maryland in the vicinity of Washington, D. C. He gives special attention to the fauna of the region.

Guimarães, Celso. *Um sonho!* Rio de Janeiro, Editora civilização brasileira, 1947. 292 pp. Date: Late spring 1945. On p. 237 *et seq.* Guimarães gives brief accounts of Baltimore and Annapolis, emphasizing the physical aspects rather than the people and institutions of these communities.

Hanström, Bertil. *Skisser från en Kaliforniafärd.* Lund, C. W. K. Gleerups förlag, 1922. 143 pp. Date: January 1922. "Två dagar i det rykande Baltimore" (pp. 17-24) is the title of a chapter dealing mainly with the topography and buildings of the city but also going into some historical detail, mainly on Francis Scott Key, Fort McHenry, and Jerome Bonaparte.

Heckmann, Johannes. *In Nord-Amerika und Asien, 1902-1903; Reise-Eindrücke.* Bonn, R. Schade, n. d. 230 pp. Late fall 1902. On p. 9 Heckmann describes the Baltimore Copper Smelting and Rolling Works on the basis of a short visit to the plant.

Heye, Arthur. *In Freiheit dressiert.* Zürich, Albert Müller Verlag A.-G., 1940. 2nd edition. 159 pp. Date: Probably shortly before the World War I. This is the narrative of the adventures of a German hobo in the United States in the early part of the century. There is a note on Baltimore's hobo jungle and skid row on p. 55. Heye's *Wanderer ohne Ziel; von abenteuerlichem Zwei- und Vierbein* (Berlin, Safari-Verlag, 1925; 204 pp.) describes the same trip, with notes on hiring halls and saloons in Baltimore on pp. 45-52.

Hoppé, Emil Otto. *Die Vereinigten Staaten; das romantische Amerika, Baukunst, Landschaft und Volksleben.* Berlin, Atlantis-Verlag, 1930. 304 pp. Date: 1927 (?). This is a collection of 304 photographs of the United States by a master photographer whose work surpassed anything of a similar character done in this country before the days of the WPA. On p. 300 there is a photograph of a Baltimore scene.

Iorga, Nicolae. *America şi Românii din America: note de drum şi conferinte.* Vălenii-de-Munte, Aşezământul tipografic "Datina românească," 1930. 238 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. On pp. 148-149 there is a description of Baltimore with special attention to architecture, Johns Hopkins University, and the art treasures in the city.

Klein, Félix. *Au pays de "La vie intense."* Paris, Librairie Plon, 1905. 7th edition. 386 p. Date: 1904. Klein, a French clergyman who came to the United States to see the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, has also given an unusually detailed and accurate account of the state of Roman

Catholicism in St. Louis and Baltimore. He spent three days in Baltimore (pp. 297-311), where he found the church solidly entrenched, with excellent parochial schools and prosperous religious houses. He also has a brief complimentary word for Johns Hopkins University.

Konen, Heinrich Mathias. *Reisebilder von einer Studienreise durch Sternwarten und Laboratorien der Vereinigten Staaten.* Cologne, Kommissionsverlag und Druck von J. P. Bachem, 1912. 114 pp. Date: Probably 1911. Konen, a German astronomer who visited observatories all over the United States, describes his visit to Washington and Baltimore on pp. 97-105. He is interested in Baltimore principally as the seat of the American primate (Cardinal Gibbons) and the laboratory of H. A. Rowland at Hopkins, which he describes in some detail.

Losty, Johannes Paulus. *Van den Atlantischen Oceaan naar de stille Zuidzee in 1922; Dagboek van een Botanicus, die niet alleen naar planten keek.* 's-Gravenhage, G. Naeff, 1923. 491 pp. Date: 1922. Chapter VI, "Baltimore" (pp. 47-57), contains reports of some botanizing near Havre de Grace, Holly Oak, and an unidentified Baltimore country club. Much more interesting are his reports on his fraternization with professors at Hopkins, an institution for which he has the highest esteem.

Mees, Walter. *Stars en Stripes en Maple Leaves: Leben en Streven in Amerika en Canada.* Amsterdam, Scheltens & Giltay, 1946. 294 pp. Date: 1945 (?). On pp. 83-85 there are rather pedantic historical, topographical, and economic notes on Baltimore.

Moeschlin, Felix. *Amerika vom Auto aus; 20,000 Km. U. S. A.* Erlenbach-Zürich, Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1930. 188 pp. Date: Summer 1929. On pp. 43-46 there are a few impressions of Baltimore, highway scenes en route to Washington, and the District of Columbia and environs.

Neumann Gandía, Eduardo. *Impresiones de viaje por Norte América.* New York, Imprenta de F. J. Dassori, 1910. Date: Probably 1908. This is a pretentious but pedestrian work by a rich Puerto Rican. Baltimore (pp. 701-704) is described as "la reina del comercio del sur," and there are notes on several of her more important sights and monuments.

Nielsen, Roger. *Amerika i Billeder og Text.* Copenhagen, Aschehoug, 1929. 319 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. This work by a press attaché at the Danish Legation in Washington is one of the most important travel books on 20th century America. Marshalling an impressive amount of geographical, historical, political, ethnological, sociological, economic, commercial, educational, and agricultural information, he has matched his data with typical photographs from each state. Maryland and Virginia are described in the group of states extending northward along the Atlantic seaboard to Canada.

Pagán, Rafael J. *Va Usted para los Estados Unidos? (Guía para el puertorriqueño.)* San Juan de Puerto Rico, Puerto Rico Adjustment Bureau, 1944. 186 pp. Date: Based on Pagán's own experiences sometimes between 1942 and 1944. On pp. 74-76 there is an account of Baltimore, with special attention to streets, residences, factories, and docks.

Pasquier, Alex. *Amérique 1944.* Brussels, Éditions de l'étoile, 1945.

312 pp. Date: 1937/1938. Chapter XVII, "Une grande figure: Edgar Poe" (pp. 141-152) is a brief review of Poe's life and work, with notes on localities in Baltimore connected with Poe, especially the Church Home and Infirmary. Pasquier prints the texts of two letters of Stéphane Mallarmé relative to Poe. Chapter IV, "Le point noir" (pp. 58-63), describes the Negro as Pasquier observed him in Washington and Baltimore. Pasquier gives the history of segregation and emphasizes the grave consequences if a solution is not reached soon. Pasquier's *Arc en ciel sur l'Amérique* (Brussels, Les éditions de Belgique, 1937; 199 pp.) is identical with *Amérique 1944* except that a section on the United States in wartime has been added to the latter.

Pfister, Albrecht. *Nach Amerika im Dienste Friedrich Schillers; der Völkerfreundschaft gewidmet.* Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1906. 170 pp. Date: April, 1904. Pfister came to America to participate in the various commemorative exercises at the time of the centennial of Schiller's death. On pp. 40-47 he describes the activities at Hopkins on April 29, 1904, and there are several interesting references to the Germanophile attitudes of the Hopkins faculty and the German population of Baltimore.

Piazza, Lorenzo. *Nell 'America del Nord per l'esposizione di Chicago.* Lentini, Tip. F. Cicirata, 1934. 333 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. On pp. 72-73 there are a few notes on Baltimore, mainly historical material on the beginnings of the B. and O., Hopkins, and Poe.

Prossinagg, Ernst. *Das Antlitz Amerikas: drei Jahre diplomatischer Mission in den U. S. A.* Zürich, Amalthea-Verlag, 1931. 282 pp. Date: 1926-1928. The author, an Austrian diplomat sent to help settle American claims against Austria, travelled widely in Virginia and Maryland. Baltimore (pp. 137-141) he considers "eine der wenigen Aristokratinnen unter den Städten Amerikas"; and he reports his impressions of the city as a border metropolis (yet fundamentally Southern in spirit), progressive in business and with a vigorous cultural life. His account of Annapolis (pp. 141-142) emphasizes the U. S. Naval Academy and the fishing industry.

Repetto, Nicolas. *Impresiones de los Estados Unidos.* Buenos Aires, Librería y editorial "La vanguardia," 1943. 253 pp. Date: Spring and summer 1943. Repetto was one of the many Latin American journalists brought to this country during the last war at the expense of the State Department. On pp. 23-25 he describes his visit to the Department of Agriculture's experiment station at Beltsville, giving a short synopsis of the program of this agency.

Roda Roda, Alexander. *Ein Frühling in Amerika.* Munich, Gunther Langes, 1924. 173 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. On pp. 121-125 there is an account of the national origins of the various elements of Baltimore's population, a note on the numerous historical monuments in the city (especially the Church of Zion founded in 1755), and a critique of H. L. Mencken.

Verissimo, Erico. *Gato preto em campo de neve.* Porto Alegre, Edição da Livraria do globo, 1941. 420 pp. Date: Probably 1941. Baltimore

(pp. 96-104) impresses Verissimo with Hopkins, Goucher, and the Peabody Institute; but he is considerably less inspired by his visit to the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis.

Vianzone, Thérèse. *Impressions d'une française en Amérique (États-Unis et Canada)*. Paris, Librairie Plon, 1906. 377 pp. Date: 1905 (?). This rather superficial French aristocrat flits in and out of New York, Washington, and Baltimore society throughout the book. On pp. 47-49 she reports a visit in Baltimore with Cardinal Gibbons, for whom she has only the highest words of praise. Her hosts in Baltimore, the Lawrence Turnbulls, introduce her to the Bonapartes and tell her their history (pp. 143-147). On pp. 147-148 she reports a brief visit to Hopkins (whose endowment impresses her more than its scholarship), Poe's tomb (p. 149), and the Walters Gallery (p. 150).

Weiser, Franz Xavier. *Im Lande des Sternenbanners.* Regensburg, Druck und Verlag von Josef Habbel, 1933. 114 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. Father Weiser's trip was undertaken mainly for the purpose of inspecting Catholic institutions in the United States. On pp. 98-102 he describes his sojourn in Baltimore, where he stayed at the Mercy Hospital. There are also a few notes on the history of the city.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Port of Baltimore in the Making, 1828 to 1878. By T. Courtenay J. Whedbee. Baltimore: 1953. 100 pp.

A Baltimore lumber concern, F. Bowie Smith & Son, Inc., celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, has published an undergraduate paper written during the author's senior year at Princeton in 1941. While it is not a definitive study, it is the best analysis available of the growth of the port of Baltimore. Future studies, and they are greatly needed, will merely follow the lines cast forth in this admirable essay.

Tracing factors suggested by historian Jared Sparks in 1825, the author sees the ante-bellum growth of Baltimore based upon: geographical location, especially her nearness to the West; the famous Baltimore clipper ships; the prosperous trade with the Caribbean and South America, particularly Brazil; the export staples of tobacco and world-famous Baltimore flour, and finally the enterprising spirit of her merchants, who, like the Connecticut Yankees who built New York's trade, were not generally native sons.

Though her expansion and prosperity was great, Baltimore was definitely overshadowed by the port of New York whose merchants dominated every channel of trade they engaged in during this period. The failure to establish permanent steamer connections with Europe was the great lack of the Chesapeake port—a lack that was remedied after the Civil War.

The better portion of this study concerns itself with the antebellum period. One chapter analyzes the disruption of Baltimore's commerce wrought by the Civil War, and the last chapter discusses readjustment after the war. The basic factor in the post-war growth of the port was the freight rate differential to the West resulting in part from the extension of railroad connections deeper into the hinterlands. The development of port facilities at Locust Point and Canton, the growing links with Europe which helped to make Baltimore a great ocean port, and finally in the 1880s the development of a tidewater steel plant at Sparrows Point—a brief analysis of these factors, contributing to Baltimore's modern development, round out the essay.

F. Bowie Smith & Son, Inc. is to be commended for bringing this valuable study before the public. It is to be hoped that other business concerns will follow their worthwhile example.

Richard Lowitt

University of Rhode Island

Calendar of Maryland State Papers, Number 4, Part 2, The Red Books. (Publication of The Hall of Records Commission, No. 8.) Annapolis: 1953. x, 331 pp. $3.

This volume, the second of three projected for the *Calendar of the Red Book* series, contains 1,787 entries describing letters, documents, and selected printed works, including the *Archives of Maryland*, housed in the Hall of Records. These materials spread over the period 1766 to 1822, although the great majority fall into the years 1776 and 1777. Each item is calendared chronologically, is described in from two to twenty or more lines, and is given a source reference. A finding list and a name-index complete the work.

Since the entries refer predominantly to military affairs and personnel reports, the volume under review is a cornucopia for genealogists and local historians. What is not so apparent, but none the less true, is that it is of considerable value to historians of wider interests. Despite their military character, many of the documents afford information bearing on social, economic, or political matters. To cite but two: A report to the Maryland Convention by the Committee on Manufactory of Arms reveals that as of August 2, 1775, twelve gunsmiths were available in the state to produce arms. An address to the governor by the Council of Safety, dated August 29, 1775, asserts that independence is not " the Aim or wish of the people of this Province." Thus there can be no question of the general worth of the calendar series. The Hall of Records Commission is to be commended for authorizing its publication, and the editors, especially, are to be complimented for the comprehensive nature of the entries and the exactness of their scholarship.

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

University of Connecticut

The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861. By AVERY O. CRAVEN. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1953. xi, 433 pp. $6.50.

This volume is the sixth in the *History of the South* series. Primarily political in nature, it attempts to clarify and explain the tangled thinking and the emotional strife of that tragic era between the close of the Mexican War and the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln. The author describes his work as the story of the development of the sectional quarrel as seen through the evolution of Southern attitudes towards national events. As such, he has succeeded admirably in his effort to explain how our nation became involved in a bitter civil war. His conclusion is that the war was inevitable because of the tragic manner in which the democratic processes of government were allowed to break down.

Craven maintains that the primary cause of the difficulties of the '50's was the slavery question. This so completely colored men's thought that it profoundly affected the relations between the states and became the

symbol of all the differences between the North and the South. A break could have been avoided, according to the author, had each side agreed to a compromise. Neither would yield, however, because " slavery had come to symbolize values in each of their social-economic structures for which men fight and die but which they do not give up or compromise."

Like its companion volumes, this one maintains a high standard of objective and unbiased scholarship. Of value are the two chapters entitled " Some Generalizations," and " Critical Essay on Authorities." One wishes, however, that the author had devoted more space to a discussion of social and economic problems. Marylanders, moreover, will note the absence of any serious consideration of the role played by their state in the pattern of Southern history during this era. Furthermore, he has drawn no comparisons with the world of 1953, but it is fairly easy to discern the similarities with the problems of 1848 to 1861. The prospect is frightening.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Library of Congress

The American Diaries of Richard Cobden. Edited by ELIZABETH H. CAWLEY. Princeton Univ. Press, 1952. xii, 233 pp. $4.

This volume is an important addition to the travel accounts of Europeans in America during the generation before the Civil War. Its very favorable estimate of the customs and the culture of Americans is in marked contrast to that of well-known critics of the period such as Basil Hall, Frances Trollope, Fanny Kemble, and Charles Dickens. Richard Cobden wrote his brother near the end of his first trip (July 5, 1835): " My estimate of American character has improved, contrary to my expectations, by this visit. . . . I find myself in love with their intelligence, their sincerity, and the decorous self-respect that actuates all classes; " and after his second trip in 1859 he declared " that nobody who has not twice visited the States can comprehend the vitality, force & velocity of progress of that people, & their inborn aptitude for self-government " (Dec. 4, 1861).

Cobden had many interesting comments on Maryland. He was well-impressed with Baltimore on his first trip: " Approach to Baltimore rivals the bay of New York—the city with its cupolas spires & Monuments & its amphitheatrical situation with background of hills looks well—like an European Town. . . . Baltimore is the handsomest place I have yet seen—here are the finest monuments—the prettiest girls and the cleanest City in the Union. . . . Baltimore is the first of the Southern Cities " (June 11, 1835). After a trip to Washington he was not impressed with the road to Frederick: "the road all the way from Washington to Frederick is execrable & the dexterity with which the drivers carry a coach & four horses over roads that for ruggedness & occasional steepness surpass our Derbyshire cross-roads would be enough to make our English jehus marvel could they behold it." He went west over " the famous national turnpike," and as

he crossed the summit of the Alleghanies and faced west he wrote: "here will one day be the head quarters of agricultural & manufacturing industry[.] Here will one day center the civilization, the wealth, the power of the entire world." He could not restrain his strong anti-slavery sentiments when he arrived at Brownsville an June 15: "We are now in the State of Penns[a]. Thank God I am no longer in the country of slaves."

On his second trip in 1859 he came as the famous Liberal party statesman and was received by the leading citizens wherever he went. His comments on public men are very interesting and enlightening. The immediate object of this trip was to investigate the affairs of the Illinois Central Railroad for English stockholders. In Springfield he met one of the lawyers of the railroad, Abraham Lincoln, but was not sufficiently impressed to mention it in his diary! (We first learn of the meeting in a letter to John Bright in March, 1861.) On both trips Cobden showed a keen discernment and judgment in discussing our social customs, our industry and agriculture, and our educational practices.

The long "Introduction" by Mrs. Cawley is particularly valuable in giving the background for the diaries. A wealth of further information on Cobden's views of America and of particular Americans (especially of Lincoln during the Civil War) is supplied from his letters, most of which are copied from the Cobden Papers in the British Museum.

James B. Ranck

Hood College

Schuyler Colfax, The Changing Fortunes of a Political Idol. By Willard H. Smith. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1952. xiv, 475 pp.

Editor of an Indiana Whig newspaper, liberal reformer, and strong supporter of Henry Clay, Schuyler Colfax was a prominent politician of Indiana prior to the Civil War. He joined the Republican Party when it was formed and was elected to the House of Representatives in 1855 where he served continuously until 1869, from 1863-1869 as Speaker. From 1869 to 1873 he was Vice-President under Grant. He was later involved in the Crédit Mobilier scandal, and it is in this connection that his name is often remembered.

Smith's study shows the political service Colfax rendered during his Congressional career and the human side of the man. The picture is one of a loyal partisan of the Republican party, too often suffering from the passions, prejudices, and weaknesses of Civil War and Reconstruction politicians, but withal his shortcomings a well-meaning man interested in social and political Justice. Smith's study is a valuable contribution to the lesser, but nevertheless important, political figures of the Reconstruction period, and is written without the strong black or white coloring which typifies so many of the biographies about men of this period.

F. C. H.

Fleur de Lys and Calumet. Edited by R. G. McWilliams. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1953. xxviii, 282 pp. $4.

This well-written, well-presented book is offered as the "first complete edition in English" of the famous "Pénicaut" story, an account of a journey to Louisiana written by a French ship-wright toward the end of the first quarter of the 18th century. The translator expresses surprise that the narrative has never previously appeared as a book, and that no complete translation has been available. He has "translated and edited this edition . . . from microfilm reproductions of three contemporary manuscripts and of a transcription of a fourth." Already extant, and cited in the footnotes, are a complete edition in French by Pierre Margry[1] and a translation into English of a large part of the text by B. F. French.[2] It appears to this reviewer that the audience is only slightly enlarged by the appearance of *Fleur de Lys and Calumet.*

If this book had revealed results of an exhaustive study of the four manuscripts used, it would have been quite valuable, but such is not the case. The editor has "not been able to locate the autograph manuscript;" in fact he has no suggestions as to the relation between the variants or as to the likelihood that one of them is the holographic text. There is considerable evidence of inexperience in the extended comments on differences in spelling, especially in proper names, something which the experienced paleographer takes as a matter of course. There is no explanation of why the fourth manuscript was not used—he was not "able to examine it." This does not show why a microfilm of a transcription was obtained from the Newberry Library in Chicago instead of a microfilm of the original manuscript in Rouen.

Problems concerning the identity of the author would have been reduced if the editor had known and used the extensive published work of Professor G. Debien, especially two recent volumes on indentured and contract workers who went to the West Indies from France.[3]

His attempt to withhold "every impulse to improve on the carpenter's prose style" has also brought some confusion. The original French gives the day of arrival in Louisiana as the "jour des Rois" which is customarily rendered in English as Epiphany or Twelfth Night. Professor McWilliams translates it literally as "Kings' Day" which means nothing in English and requires a footnote which could have been omitted in an intelligible translation. There are at least two errors due to lack of familiarity with French practice. A footnote[4] gives "St Thomas' Day" as either Dec. 21 or Dec. 29, depending on whether it refers to St. Thomas

[1] *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans le Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale,* V (Paris 1883), pp. 376-586.

[2] *Historical collections of Louisiana and Florida* (New York, 1869), pp. 33-162.

[3] *Le peuplement des Antilles françaises au XVII^e siècle: les engagés partis de La Rochelle, 1683-1715* (Presses de l'Institut Français du Caire), Cairo, 1942; and *La société coloniale aux XVII^e siècle: les engagés pour les Antilles, 1634-1715,* in *Revue d'histoire des colonies,* XXXVIII (1951), pp. 1-277.

[4] P. 2, note 8.

the Apostle or St. Thomas à Becket. It is without doubt the first of these, for while the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle is Dec. 21 everywhere, the Feast of St. Thomas à Becket was celebrated in France on July 7. In Rome it was celebrated on Dec. 29, hence the confusion.[5] Another error, more obvious, occurs in connection with the closing passage, a quotation from the Psalms, given in French and then in Latin, with the reference, which the editor has read inaccurately as "Ps. 70." There would have been neither inaccuracy nor confusion if the editor had remembered that Pénicaut used the Vulgate or a French translation of it instead of the King James version of the Bible.

Finally, in view of the "extraordinary assistance" which Professor McWilliams received from the chief of the Photographic service of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, it is a pity that he has thanked a nonexistant "Monsieur M. Chabrier" instead of the distinguished assistant director of that library, a member of its staff for over twenty-five years, *Mademoiselle* M. Chabrier!

One cannot help wondering why, in this day of expense and difficulty of publication of scholarly works, so much time, effort, money, and paper have been devoted to a book, however entertaining, which has contributed so little which is new, and that new only to those who are not specialists. Scholars in the field can read the easily accessible original French, and most scholars prefer to avoid translations.

DOROTHY MACKAY QUYNN

A Picture History of B. & O. Motive Power. By LAWRENCE W. SAGLE. New York: Simmons-Boardman, 1952. 82 pp. $3.75.

They are all here—the experimental *Tom Thumb*, the *York* which first went into regular service, the "grasshoppers," the "camels," the "Dutch Wagons," the "muddiggers" or "crabs"—all the types of locomotives used by the B. & O. from 1830 to 1952. The illustrations are fascinating and numerous; the text is detailed, statistical, and enlightening. This volume will delight historian and railroad enthusiast alike.

The Rise and Progress of Maryland Baptists. By JOSEPH T. WATTS. [Baltimore: 1953.] 266 pp.

It may come as a surprise to many to learn that there were Baptists in Maryland when the Toleration Act of 1649 became law. Mr. Watts reviews the early history of the denomination and proceeds to give a careful account of general activities in the last century and a half. We are indebted to the author and the Maryland Baptist Union Association for a useful volume.

[5] Bénédictins de Sain-Maur, *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, I (Paris, 1770), p. 167.

American Gun Makers. By Arcadi Gluckman and L. D. Satterlee, Harrisburg: Stockpole Co., 1953. 243 pp. $6.

Colonel Gluckman, recognized authority on early American arms, has here revised and materially enlarged an earlier published work. Although in the foreword he apologizes for errors of omission and commission, it is evident that long and careful research went into the preparation of this edition. It should prove to be a substantial contribution to reference material and early Americana.

Entries are listed alphabetically by name or firm. There is no index to guide one to all Maryland gun makers, for instance, but a perusal of the book is an agreeable task.

The First Thirty-Five Annual Reports [of the] Baltimore City Health Department, 1815-1849. Baltimore: 1953.

The Commissioner of Health has performed a service alike to historians and to the medical profession in reproducing and in making generally accessible in this handsome volume the early reports of the City Health Department. Several illustrations and a bibliography have been included.

The Sailing Ships of New England, 1607-1907. By John Robinson and George F. Dow. Westminster: J. William Eckenrode, 1953. 66 pp. and 308 plates. $12.50.

This is the first of three volumes, issued nearly a generation ago, projected for reprinting by Mr. Eckenrode, who thus makes available again a splendid series of pictures of New England sailing ships. Two plates will illustrate the range of this volume. Plate 24 from an oil painting made about 1748, the earliest known painting of a New England ship, shows the *Bethell* of Boston in two positions on one canvass. Plate 275, a photograph of the *Siren*, a three-master from Salem, catches the last detail of rigging. Between are illustrations drawn from a variety of media—photographs of later vessels, oil and water paintings of many early ones, log-book sketches, broadside drawings, and punch bowl decorations representing a few others. Prefacing the 308 plates is a 60-page introduction to riggings, nautical instruments, and ship fittings, which serves at once as explanations of the illustrations and as an introduction to sailing-ship lore for the uninitiated. The reproduction is excellent and the binding a work of beauty.

Aubrey C. Land

Vanderbilt University

NOTES AND QUERIES

Mill Point, Formerly in St. Mary's Co.—Does anyone know where the house "Mill Point" is now located? Is it now in Charles Co.? The editors will appreciate information about this house.

Ligon Family—Mr. William D. Ligon, Jr., 17 East 70th St., New York 21, and Shipman, Va., has generously presented copies of the *Proceedings of The Ligon Family and Kinsmen Association*, of which two numbers, dated Oct., 1937, and Sept., 1939, have been printed. Among many interesting items is an address before the Association by the Hon. George L. Radcliffe (II, 15-20) in 1938.

Mr. Ligon can supply copies of *The Ligon Family and Connections* (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVIII [Mar., 1953], 81) for $23 postpaid.

Gott—Need information re parents of Richard Gott, b. Balto. Co., died Falls Church, Va., 1879. His father was Edmund or Edward Gott who had a sister named Maria, who married Philip Lipscomb.

JOHN K. GOTT,
Marshall, Virginia

Lake—About 1754 John, William, and Vincent Lake came to Fauquier Co., Va., from St. Mary's or Dorchester Co. John m. Susanna Savaul before coming to Va. Data on parents of either will be appreciated.

JOHN K. GOTT,
Marshall, Virginia

Pierpoint—Need further information about Larkin Pierpoint, Jr., b. Sept. 24, 1726, in Patuxent Hundred, Prince George's Co., who was in Augusta Co., Va., militia, 1758. His father, Larkin Pierpoint, Sr., was b. in Ann Arundel Co., Feb. 12, 1703/4, son of John Pierpoint and Mahitabel, dau. of John Larkin and widow of Otho Holland; moved with his mother and half-brother James Holland to Prince George's Co. in 1719, m. 1st Charity Duckett in 1725, by whom he had Larkin, Jr., and married 2nd Sarah Simmons in 1730, by whom he had Jonathan, in 1732; moved to *now* Montgomery Co. in 1746, and appears in the Frederick Co.

records until 1766. His son David willed him land in *now* Washington Co. in 1755. John Pierpoint who settled in *now* Monongalia Co., W. Va., in 1769, named his oldest son Larkin, and had many descendants of that name. It seems highly probable he was descended from Larkin Pierpoint of Maryland.

A. B. Stickney,
5324 Forbes St., Pittsburgh 17, Pa.

Walley—Request information regarding the parentage of Hannah Walley (d. 1705) who married 6-11-1696 Lovelace Gorsuch of Talbot and Dorchester Cos., as his 2d wife.

Miss Louise E. Lewis,
1455 E. 54th St., Chicago, Ill.

Civil War Study—Need letters and documents in private hands reflecting political movement to free Maryland slaves, 1862-64, written by county, state, or national officials, or others. Also need newspapers of Calvert, Charles, St. Mary's, Somerset, Worcester, and present Wicomico Co. Can anyone tell me about political activities of Md. Union Leagues during 1862-64?

Charles Wagandt,
821 W. Lake Ave., Baltimore 10

Bowen—Will appreciate information concerning ancestors of Wm. Bowen, born ca. 1830, resident and land owner in Baltimore Co. near Towson.

Harry Berry,
222 W. Read St., Baltimore 1

Back Issues—The Society welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. James, well-known for his studies of early railroad history, is a retired civil engineer who in the course of a long career worked for the B. & O. and supervised construction of the Miraflores Locks of the Panama Canal. ☆ A graduate of Vassar College, Mrs. B. H. Gary recently translated from German the best seller, *Désirée*. ☆ Now an Assistant Librarian at the University of Wisconsin, Mr. Griffin was Reference Librarian, Peabody Institute Library, 1951-1953. ☆ Mr. Thompson is Director of Libraries at the University of Kentucky.

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